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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Labour Ministry exaggerating unemployment fears — Moda'i

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economics Reporter
The Treasury is not prepared to increase the Labour and Social Affairs Ministry's budget because it believes the ministry's fears regarding unemployment are highly exaggerated, Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i said yesterday.

At their first meeting yesterday, the ministers heard explanations from Treasury Budgets Division officials for plans to dismiss some 14,000 public-sector workers. The committee is to meet again this week to receive further information on the cuts.

It will start negotiations with individual ministers only after the cabinet's meeting next Sunday which will deal with the cuts in the Defence Ministry budget. Speaking to reporters, Moda'i also referred to his clash with Labour Minister Moshe Katzav during last Sunday's cabinet meeting, and said that two weeks ago he warned Likud

Rabin expected to fight \$150m. defence cut

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent
Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin is expected to fight a demand that the defence budget be cut by \$150 million for a total \$450m. slash this fiscal year. "It is impossible to institute this newest cut, simply impossible," a source told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

While the source admitted that this refrain had accompanied every Treasury demand for cuts in the defence budget in the past, "this time," he said, "it is different." There are no more research projects that can be frozen, no more training hours that can be cut, and no more decreases possible in strategic stockpiles. *The Post* was told. There was a point beyond which the defence minister could not go without compromising Israel's ability to defend itself, the source stressed.

Cuts in strategic stockpiles have a ripple effect on the entire defence infrastructure, he said. When orders for ammunition are cut, factories — the smooth operation of which is essential in times of emergency — have to close lines and pay off highly qualified staff. Moreover, sources explained, cutting stockpiles and the size of the standing army increases the burden on the immediate defence budget. Some major defence companies are already feeling the pinch, although the Israel Aircraft Industries has hardly been affected, thanks largely to hundreds of millions of dollars brought in by orders from abroad.

Katzav: Budget-cutters lack social sense

By ILAN CHAIM
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The four ministers appointed by the cabinet to oversee cuts in the welfare budget lack the "necessary social awareness" for the task, Labour and Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katzav yesterday told a meeting of the National Insurance Institute board of directors in Jerusalem.

Katzav said he opposed the selection of Moshe Arens, Ezer Weizman, Yitzhak Moda'i and Gad Ya'acobi, because "it is doubtful whether the four — who have a well founded economic and security consciousness — have the necessary social awareness to decide cuts in the social-welfare budget."

In an oblique reference to his shouting match at Sunday's cabinet session with Finance Minister Moda'i, Katzav stressed that "lifting the living standards of the poor must be no less important a goal than lowering the inflation rate or improving the balance of payments."

NEWS BACKGROUND/Avi Temkin

Loose strings on the package deal

Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, who took a back seat to Prime Minister Peres in last month's economic package deal negotiations, has moved back into the driver's seat in the last fortnight. Yet the outcome of the Moda'i campaign to chop an additional \$550 million off the state budget is likely to depend on the degree of support Peres gives his minister of finance.

Unlike his predecessors Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, Peres takes a hand in the day-to-day formulation and implementation of economic policy. It was Peres, and not Moda'i, who decided last week that the time had come for a cabinet discussion of the \$550m. cut, less than two months after the approval of a \$1 billion budget slash.

During the first six weeks of his national unity administration, Peres directed the government side of the package deal talks while Moda'i stayed on the sidelines, expressing little interest. At one point, the finance minister even declared that reaching a package deal accord was of secondary importance to other economic concerns.

Egyptian security forces on alert against Libyan reprisals

CAIRO (Reuters). — Egyptian security forces have been ordered on alert for possible Libyan reprisals after Egypt's announcement that it had foiled a plot to kill a Libyan opposition leader.

Interior Minister Ahmed Rushdi said Sunday that Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi "may try to take revenge but our men throughout the country are instructed to remain on the alert for any possible sabotage."

"Our joy over this success should not make us forget our duty to maintain order in the country," he added. Egypt revealed on Saturday that it had caught four Libyan-paid men sent to Cairo to kill former Libyan Prime Minister Abdul-Hamid al-Bakhoussi but then deceived Tripoli into believing the killers had been successful.

Brutality and the police — I

Few charges of police violence are justified

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
The nature of police work means that at least once or twice a day a policeman in Israel encounters violence. It can be the murder of an underworld figure, the killing of an unfaithful lover, the beating of a merchant who refuses to match prices with his neighbour, or merely teenage bullying.

How often do policemen hit back? How does the system deal with such policemen? Is police violence the exception or the rule? These were some of the questions on *The Jerusalem Post's* agenda during the interviews for this series.

The officers and patrolmen, the investigators and the interrogators, did not want to go on the record. Police brutality is a touchy subject. Some officers fear for their careers as they speak out against faulty command structures, or admit to slapping a suspect. Plaintiffs also do not want to go on the record in terms other than those used by their lawyers because, they say, they will get beaten again.

Listening to the policemen and the alleged victims of police brutality, it is hard to judge who is telling truth. The police are clearly frustrated in their work.

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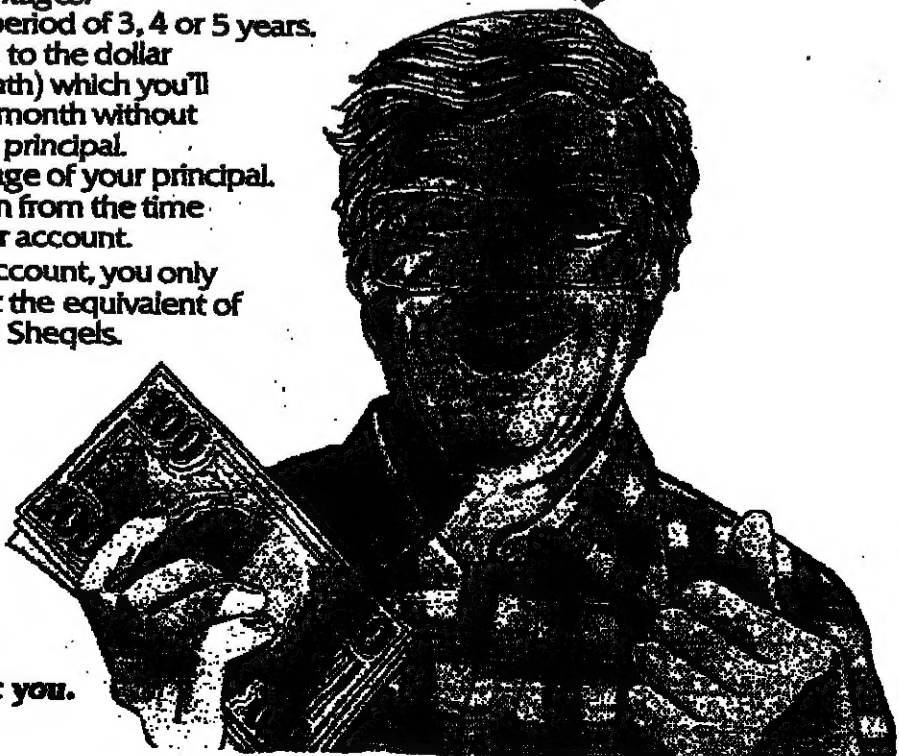
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Heads of the Lebanese delegation to the Nakoura talks listen to Israeli proposals yesterday. (Elli Shafir, IPPA)

Some headway in evidence at Nakoura talks

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
NAKOURA. — The Israeli-Lebanon military talks for an IDF evacuation began the slow process towards agreement yesterday.

There are no procedural wranglings and we're getting down to business, spreading out the maps. This is itself a good sign, Israeli spokesman Sgan-Aluf (Lt.-Col.) Yona Gazit said at the end of the day. In a separate press statement, his Lebanese counterpart, Lt.-Col. Basam Sa'ad agreed there was a positive atmosphere with progress made. Summing up with an "agreed statement," Unifil spokesman Timor Goksel said "principles for security arrangements were presented by both sides and some positive elements appeared during the discussion."

Religious factions unite on amending the Law of Return

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The four religious Knesset factions yesterday established a joint forum to pressure the government on religious legislation. The National Religious Party, Agudat Yisrael, Shas and Morasha met amid a feeling that their status in the coalition and the religious status quo are being eroded.

The factions resolved to fight what they said is "the erosion of Sabbath observance," noting that both Likud and Alignment are committed to preserving the religious status quo. They resolved to meet soon with Justice Minister Moshe Nissim and Transport Minister Haim Corfu on the question of Sabbath transport.

From the other end of the political spectrum, Shulamit Aloni and five of her colleagues have come up with their own version of Who is a Jew. They would have a Jew defined as "one who ties his or her fate to that of the Jewish people," who has one Jewish parent, who was a member of the Jewish community in his country of origin, or who was registered by the authorities there as a Jew.

Menachem Porush of Agudat Yisrael noted that the Likud had promised "38 votes" to the bill, and said the Alignment is obliged to permit a free vote of its members.

Central bank to drop interest rates

By PINHAS LANDAU
Post Finance Reporter
The Bank of Israel will lower interest rates this week for the second time in two weeks, the bank announced yesterday. The central bank will reduce the price of the monetary loans it offers to commercial banks by between 1.5 and 2.5 per cent.

As a result, the commercial banks are able to lower borrowing rates to their customers, as well as to lower the rates they pay their depositors. The prime rate, for borrowers with the highest credit ratings, will now be 14 per cent, instead of 15.5 per cent. The rate of interest on unauthorized overdrafts, which was 8.5 per cent higher than the prime rate, may drop by more than 1.5 per cent. Bank Leumi is lowering its penalty rates by 2.5 per cent, to 21.5 per cent.

These moves follow the 5-6 per cent drop in interest rates announced with the introduction of the package deal, and are predicated on a fall in the inflation rate for November and an even sharper decline in December. The new rates are to go into effect this Thursday.

Quiniduran mixup

Kupat Holim Clalit patients who received Quiniduran, which is used for treating heart disease, since October 8, are asked to return the drug to the sick-fund pharmacies where they purchased it.

The Health Ministry said yesterday that due to a packaging mistake at Kupat Holim, a drug for the control of diabetes was packaged in Quiniduran containers and distributed to 35 Kupat Holim dispensaries throughout the country.

Meanwhile, the sister-in-law of a London man implicated in the alleged Libyan plot yesterday expressed shock and disbelief at his arrest. Jean Shiner said her brother-in-law, Godfrey Shiner, worked in Libya's oil industry and had travelled to Egypt to meet a friend.

"My brother-in-law is an honorable man and would not possibly be involved in a murder plot," she said.

The arresting officers listening in the courtroom said that they lauged (Continued on Page 3)

The weather at major Swissair destinations

	19.11.84	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	3	7	4	Cloudy
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BUSINESS AIRS	11	12	16	Clear
CHICAGO	3	7	4	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	3	7	4	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	3	7	4	Cloudy
GENEVA	3	7	4	Cloudy
HAMBURG	3	7	4	Cloudy
HONG KONG	21	27	31	Clear
JERUSALEM	11	12	16	Clear
LONDON	11	12	16	Clear
MADRID	11	12	16	Clear
MONTREAL	11	12	16	Clear
NEW YORK	11	12	16	Clear
OSLO	11	12	16	Clear
PARIS	11	12	16	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	16	21	26	Clear
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy	Humidity	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	66	11-19	12-23
Golan	59	10-18	20
Nahariya	—	—	—
Safed	84	9-16	18
Haifa Port	62	16-22	23
Tiberias	69	14-22	23
Nazareth	63	12-21	22
Afula	52	10-24	25
Shomron	57	12-20	22
Tel Aviv	58	15-23	24
B-G Airport	63	13-23	24
Jericho	50	13-25	26
Gaza	63	14-23	25
Beersheba	43	10-23	23
Eilat	31	15-27	28

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Herzog yesterday received Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt and his wife at Beit Hanassi. He also received a delegation of civic leaders from San Diego, California, headed by Rep. Ronald Packard.

A delegation representing the National Association of Jewish Legislators, led by its president Alan Hovsi of New York, is in Jerusalem to meet with President Chaim Herzog and Knesset officials. Included in the group are Ivan Lafayette, Gerdy Lipschutz, Julia Harrison, Mark Segal, Carol Berman and Mark Schwartzberg from New York; Byron Baer (N.J.); Edith Prague (Conn.) and Joe Gersten (Fla.).

Sinai Beduin held in Miri Herzog murder.

A Beduin who entered Israel from the Tabat area some three weeks ago has been arrested on suspicion of involvement in the murder of Miri Herzog.

Police sources said last night, however, that there is little evidence against him to date. Herzog disappeared in Sinai six months ago. The body was returned to Israel for burial earlier this month. (Itim)

Jerusalemite charged with woman's murder

Rami Mukhtari, 31, was charged yesterday in the Jerusalem District Court with murdering his girlfriend Mazal Amsalem earlier this month.

Amsalem, who was 28, died in hospital shortly after being shot on a Jerusalem street. Mukhtari is to be brought to court on Friday when the prosecution will request that his remand be extended until the end of his trial. (Itim)

Attacker of Arab bus to have civilian trial

David Ben-Shimon, who is accused of firing a LAW missile at an Arab bus in Jerusalem last month, will stand trial at the Jerusalem District Court and not at a military court. This was decided yesterday by Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir, who rejected the appeal of Ben-Shimon's advocate that he stand trial in a military court.

Zamir noted that although the accused is a soldier, his alleged offence was not committed within a military framework. (Itim)

Aid sent to Ethiopia

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The first shipment of medicine and other aid was sent this week to the drought victims in Ethiopia by Magen David Adom. By yesterday contributions for Ethiopia totalled IS10 million, MDA said.

The Teva pharmaceutical firm has donated IS4m. worth of antibiotics and eye ointments, and blanket factories and food canneries have also offered supplies.

LITTERING. — A Jerusalem bus driver who threw an empty can out the window while driving from Jerusalem to Hebron two years ago was recently given an IS18,000 fine for littering.

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HOME NEWS

A-G tells House to limit Kahane's movements

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir yesterday recommended to the Knesset House Committee that the Knesset suspend for one year the right of Meir Kahane (Kach), as a Knesset Member, to enter any area that is not private domain.

Zamir was replying to questions put to him by committee members at the previous two committee meetings on what to do about Kahane and "Kahanism."

The committee is debating the motion of Edna Solodar (Alignment) and Yossi Sarid (Citizens Rights Movement) to revoke Kahane's freedom of movement. Any MK may initiate such an action,

and if the House Committee so recommends the Knesset votes on the matter.

This is in contrast to the removal of an MK's immunity so that he may stand trial for a specific offence, which can only be initiated by the attorney-general.

Zamir noted that a committee member had asked whether he recommends the removal of Kahane's freedom of movement.

"My answer is absolutely affirmative," he said. "And that goes even if the High Court rules [in a pending petition by Kach] that the police at Umm el-Fahm had the right to arrest Kahane."

Zamir said that Kahane's attempt to enter Umm el-Fahm and his plan

to enter the village of Taiba are "the prototype of a Knesset Member's abuse of his parliamentary immunity."

The Knesset should not pass the buck to the attorney-general, Zamir said. If it wants to take a stand, it must act. If it does not, it can only be taken to mean that it does not think there has been abuse of immunity.

Zamir then read out the text of a draft resolution for the committee's consideration. In it, the Knesset authorizes the police, for a period of one year, to prevent Kahane from entering any Arab settlement or any factory that employs mainly Arab workers, if he announces such an intention in advance.

The attorney-general cautioned

the committee that any step taken against Kahanism would affect every citizen's freedom of speech, assembly, and movement. The principal test in limiting freedom of expression is whether it constitutes "a clear and present danger."

Up to now, Zamir said, most people thought that Kahane was sick, but marginal and harmless. With his election to the Knesset all that had changed. He is supported by tens of thousands, he has secured an honourable forum and parliamentary immunity, and he has achieved not only legitimacy but also a real addendum of influence and power.

"He is now a threat to the social order in Israel. The time has come to act."

NEWS ANALYSIS/Roy Isacowitz

Cabinet likely to 'amalgamate' plans on jobs

TEL AVIV. — The cabinet is studying Labour Minister Moshe Katzav's plan to combat unemployment and has yet to respond to a Histadrut plan presented to it last week. The steps that will eventually be implemented will probably result from an amalgamation of the two.

The Histadrut is not opposed to Katzav's plan as far as it goes. But Gideon Ben-Yisrael, architect of the Histadrut's plan, says the ministry's proposal does not deal with the essence of the problem: the "means of preserving employment." Rather, it deals with steps to be taken once unemployment has taken root.

The Histadrut plan, by contrast, is based on the creation of new jobs to absorb workers laid off in other sectors, thus pre-empting unemployment. At the same time, it examines ways of expanding the job market to employ a greater number of workers.

Both plans emphasise the need to clamp down on foreign workers, including those from the West Bank and Gaza working in Israel without permits. The Histadrut includes non-unionized workers in its definition of "foreign."

Both plans also stress professional training and retraining of workers to enable their absorption in advanced industry. But where the ministry plan talks of immediate retraining of a specified number of unemployed, the Histadrut calls for planning to match the retraining to the future needs of industry.

Both plans call for preferential treatment for development towns, where unemployment is at its worst, including the relaxation of the freeze on government contracts for export industries based in development towns.

There is a further similarity. Both plans will require substantial expenditure — and neither specifies where the money might come from. The ministry plan calls for financial assistance for ailing factories, retraining programmes and transition payments. However, it envisages a tightening of the qualifications for unemployment compensation.

The Histadrut plan would cost even more. It calls for government investment in industry, subsidy of certain factories, and a 10 per cent increase in funds for the prevention of unemployment.

The basic premise of the Histadrut's plan is that, given the high cost of unemployment, it is preferable to subsidize low productivity — than to subsidize unemployment through compensation payments.

The plan is divided into long-term and short-term proposals. Long-term, it calls for an investment policy that gives priority to high-tech industries. It suggests easier credit conditions and the lowering of taxes paid by employers on labour.

It demonstrates with examples from the U.S. and France that decreased buying power is a cause of unemployment, and says the exchange rate must be kept down so the buying power of the

public is preserved.

The medium-term proposals are largely Keynesian, calling for the creation of large-scale projects that would presumably be funded out of budget deficits. The unemployed, the plan says, should be offered work on state-financed, temporary projects, such as road building, that would not be undertaken were it not for the need to provide employment.

The second central proposal in the medium-term plan is the revision of existing jobs, either through the reduction of the working period, or of work hours. Here, the plan proposes lengthened study, training and vacation periods and early retirements — but only with the agreement of the workers concerned.

Alternatively, the work week could be shortened to five days (wages would not be correspondingly reduced, but employers would be compensated by paying reduced National Insurance payments) and in certain instances, one job could be divided between two people.

The Histadrut plan has at least one major advantage: it is supported by the Hevrat Ha'Ovdim economic empire, accounting for some 25 per cent of the GNP. Hevrat Ha'Ovdim Secretary Danny Rosolio says that his concerns are willing and ready to play a role in absorbing the unemployed from other sectors — but first the government must come up with a comprehensive programme.

Sharon: No discussion of revenge at Bikfaya

By WALTER RUBY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon yesterday recounted his version of his September 15, 1982 meeting at Bikfaya with Lebanese Phalangist leaders Pierre and Amin Jemayel, and said that he never discussed with the Jemayels at that meeting the idea that the Phalangists should take revenge on the Palestinian inhabitants of Sabra and Shatilla for the murder of Bashir Jemayel.

In testimony at his \$50 million libel suit against Time magazine, Sharon said that the subject of Phalangist entry into Sabra and Shatilla, which had been ordered the night before by Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan and approved by Sharon an hour before his "condolence call" on the Jemayels, never came up during the Bikfaya meeting.

Asked by his attorney Milton Gould if he might have given the Phalangist leaders a verbal or non-verbal gesture which seemed to sanction such taking of revenge, Sharon replied with a terse, "No."

Sharon said that he did discuss

News feature Page 5

with Pierre Jemayel a meeting he had held three days earlier with Bashir Jemayel, in which the two had discussed provisions for continued close Israeli-Phalangist cooperation in the period after Bashir's expected inauguration as president of Lebanon.

Meanwhile, Robert Rifkind, an attorney for Cravath, Swaine and Moore told The Jerusalem Post that he was "outraged" that he had flown to Israel last Thursday to take depositions from five Israeli witnesses agreed to by the Israeli government, only to find that he was unable to do so because no legal representative of Sharon showed up to participate in the deposition proceedings. Rifkind said he expects to return to Israel to take the depositions at a later date.

Sharon said that his condolence call on the Jemayels lasted about 15 minutes and that those present at the meeting from the Israeli side in addition to himself were Uri Dan, his press attache, Gen. Yehoshua

Saguy, the head of military intelligence, and two high level members of the Mossad, while only the two Jemayels represented the Lebanese side.

Earlier Sharon recounted how he, Eitan, and then Prime Minister Menachem Begin consulted on the night of September 14, and decided that the IDF should enter West Beirut, and how in the early morning hours of September 15, before Sharon arrived back in Beirut from Israel, Eitan gave the Phalangists the order to mobilize, and prepare to enter the Palestinian refugee camps.

Sharon said that when he arrived in Beirut the morning of the 15th he approved Eitan's orders for the Phalangists to go into the camps, because, "We wanted to reduce our casualties as much as possible... Most of our soldiers do not speak Arabic, so the best possible troops (to go into the camps) were Lebanese..."

Sharon said that during the entrance of Israeli forces into West Beirut that morning, much of the hostile fire was coming from the refugee camps, including rocket-

propelled grenades, artillery and tank-fire, and it was felt necessary to clean out the camps which Sharon said, were "for years the centres of world terror."

Sharon said that he proceeded to the headquarters of the Phalangists in Karantina, where he and top IDF generals met the top political and military echelon on the Phalangist side, including their commander-in-chief Fadi Frem.

Sharon yesterday denounced the High Court of Justice in Jerusalem in an effort to secure testimony from high government and military officials.

Time lawyers asked the court to overturn the order of Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir, who ruled against the release of witnesses and documents that Time says it needs in the lawsuit.

Zamir ruled earlier that a secret annex to the Kahan Commission Report into the Sabra and Shatilla massacres could not be released. He also refused for security reasons to allow Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev and former northern front commander Aluf Amir Drori to testify.

NAKOURA TALKS

(Continued from Page One)

Judging from information from conference sources, the strategy appears to be to start with security arrangements in the northern sector, which will be the first to be evacuated. From there the sides will work their way South where the knottier problems of Unifil and the SLA will have to be tackled.

One of the problems raised by Israel yesterday was the protection of the Palestinian camps, particularly near Sidon, from hostile action after the evacuation. The Israeli delegation proposed that in view of the sectarian complications involved "this would be a good place to put Unifil for a start." The Lebanese answered tersely that security is a problem concerning the whole region, not only the Palestinian camps.

Gazit distributed the day's opening statement by delegation head Tal-Eluf (Brig.-Gen.) Amos Gilboa in which he "vigorously rejected" the Lebanese claim for a \$8 to \$10 billion indemnity. It is not the conference's role "to address the irrelevant matter of compensation," the statement said.

Gilboa further rejected the request for "gestures," such as releasing detainees and opening crossing points for free passage, "as long as hostile activities against Israel continue."

"Let me make it absolutely clear, our security takes precedence over all other considerations."

Gilboa stressed that "IDF military personnel will remain in Lebanese territory until we obtain acceptable security arrangements which will safeguard our northern border."

"Unifil may enter all territory evacuated by the IDF. This basic principle was implemented in 1978 (after the Litani campaign) and could again constitute a basic ingredient of the security arrangements we presently seek to obtain," Gilboa's statement went on.

"The main elements of Unifil are to be deployed in the entire northern zone of the area presently under IDF control."

The Lebanese want Unifil only on the border between the two coun-

tries, i.e. in the southern zone.

"The Lebanese Army and other local Lebanese military forces will constitute an additional component in these security arrangements" with their deployment and operational methods to be discussed," Gazit said.

Sa'ad stated soon after that "we are not the policemen of Israel. Our objective is to seek peace and maintain security for the citizens of South Lebanon."

Sa'ad said that Unifil's deployment is a matter between Lebanon and Unifil.

If Israel has a claim for damages caused through action emanating from Lebanese territory, "it's their business to make it," he told The Post. He "did not think" the talks would break down over the Lebanese indemnity claim, he added.

After the delegations had lunched on roast beef, lamb or grilled chicken, fish, eggs, potatoes, mixed vegetables, mushroom salads, fruit, cake and coffee, with a choice of French Bordeaux and Beaujolais, the Israeli put forward an unofficial invitation to the Lebanese to visit the Nabatiya area to see for themselves how the residents are faring there.

Menahem Horowitz adds:

SLA Commander Gen. Antoine Lahad told The Post yesterday that he would agree to a combined SLA and Lebanese Army force being deployed in South Lebanon if the Lebanese Army can indeed maintain peace in the region.

Two weeks ago Lahad said he would not agree to the deployment of the Lebanese Army in the South. "Only a strong Lebanese Army could work with the army we are now building up in South Lebanon," Lahad said. He also said he would not be willing to head such a combined force.

Lahad said that terrorists have increased their attacks against SLA soldiers since the Nakoura talks began in an attempt to frighten the SLA's men. He said the reason many Shi'ites are not joining the force is that Shi'ite leaders in Beirut and in the South have been using terrorism against those Shi'ites who have,



The Lord Mayor of the City of London, Dame Mary Donaldson, has a chuckle with Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek in his office yesterday. (Rahamim Israeli)

Rabin defends demolition of illegal border structures

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Correspondent

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday defended the demolition of illegal structures at Jiftik, near the Danyia Bridge.

Replying to motions for the agenda by Tewfik Toubi (Democratic Movement for Peace and Equality) and Yossi Sarid (Citizens Rights Movement), Rabin said that the courts had rejected the appeals of the occupants.

The area is near the border, he said, and security considerations are foremost.

Rabin said that 77 metal huts, two tents, and nine clay huts, all put up within the past year, had been razed.

He said the occupants are residents of the Nabulus and Tubus area who were employed by the Jiftik landowners, also residents of Nabulus, to work their land.

Their right to work on the land has

not been affected, and all of the occupants had their permanent dwellings elsewhere, Rabin said.

Military plants to Negev

Rabin also replied to a motion for the agenda by Jacques Amir (Alignment), urging the relocation of Ta'as (Military Industry) plants from the centre of the country.

Rabin conceded that the government decided in 1976 to transfer sensitive plants to the Negev. But the estimated cost of the transfer is \$1.1 billion, and the move would require 10 years.

Ta'as has already put up \$30m. for acquiring the land and fencing it in, and for infrastructure. But the government would have to provide the remainder of the money, Rabin said.

Because of the present economic conditions, he could not promise that the original plan would be carried out at this time.

Peace with Egypt 'flying at low altitude'

Jerusalem Post Staff

"The peace with Egypt has taken off, but it is flying lower than we expected," Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman said yesterday. He was interviewed on Army Radio on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

While one cannot ignore that the Egyptians have not restored their ambassador to Israel and that there are still no commercial or cultural ties between the two countries, Weizman said, there is also a bright side: "There are embassies, an open

canal. Egged goes to Cairo. El Al flies to Egypt, 35,000 Israelis visited Egypt as tourists, and not a single stone was thrown — unlike at De-haish."

In Egypt yesterday the anniversary of Sadat's mission to Jerusalem, went unobserved.

Unlike in previous years, Cairo newspapers ignored the event. There were no scheduled official parties.

Diplomats said Egypt believed it would hinder its quest for "retaliation" in the Arab world if it made too much of the anniversary.

Arafat planning visit to Britain

LONDON (Renter). — PLO leader Yasser Arafat plans to make his first visit to Britain next month, but it will be strictly private, the Foreign Office said.

The visit, planned for December 22, will be to help launch Arafat's

biography, written by Briton Alan Hart, Arab sources in London said. The date has not yet been approved by the British government.

He emphasized the visit would be purely private and the PLO leader would not meet any officials.

Haifa court gives Ata a week's reprieve

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — District Court Judge Eliezer Bar yesterday granted the Ata textile company a week to submit a list of employees to be dismissed.

But he warned that if the list not handed to the court by next Sunday, he will order the firm's closure.

The court earlier had threatened to close the company if the receivers failed to submit the list of employees slated for dismissal by yesterday's hearing.

The works committee, however, is still demanding an additional \$1.6

million to ensure regular retirement and severance pay for the 377 Ata employees at the Kiryat Ata and Kurdeh plants who are to be dismissed.

They also want a guarantee that a buyer will take over the company before the dismissals take effect.

The Jerusalem Post learned yesterday that the government is prepared to grant \$1.2m. towards the payments for the dismissed men and women.

The works committee intends to approach Ata's shareholders, the Eisenberg group and Bank Leumi, for the extra sum of \$400,000.

Grenade thrown at Ramallah municipality

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A Russian-manufactured grenade was tossed at the entrance of the Ramallah municipality yesterday afternoon and rolled under the parked car of Maurice Biton, the Israeli official appointed as mayor. The grenade failed to explode.

Security sources said last night that the grenade was thrown at the two army guards stationed outside the building, and dismissed the idea that an attempt had been made on Biton's life.

The area around the municipality was closed off and troops conducted widespread searches which continued last night. There were reports of several arrests, but the reports could not be confirmed.

Security forces imposed a curfew in the area of the Balata refugee camp near Nabulus last night, after Palestinian flags were unfurled at a demonstration. Forces arriving at the camp were stoned. The demonstration was dispersed without injuries on either side.

RELIGIOUS FACTIONS

(Continued from Page One)

Citizens' Rights Movement, and Yitzhak Artzi and Aharon Harel of the Alignment.

Agudat Yisrael's Avraham Shapira meanwhile has proposed an amendment to the law on breeding pigs. His proposal would prohibit not just breeding pigs, but also selling pork. Shapira said that a delicatessen selling pork is to open near his Tel Aviv home and he called for this to be prevented.

Sara Doron (Likud-Liberals) who was elected coalition executive chairman called on the coalition to maintain the national unity government without becoming its rubber stamp.

Memorial Meeting (Shilshim) for SADIE APPLETON
Sunday, November 25 at 8 p.m.
top floor, Herzl Yisrael Synagogue, 14 Hovevei Zion St., Jerusalem.
Brendheim and Appleton families
0524-21-224

My beloved husband
KURT PINKUS
has left me forever.
The funeral will be held at 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, November 20, 1984, at the Kfar Samir cemetery, Haifa.
0525-21-224
Charlotte Pinkus

Following the Rahamim Haddad affair

Bar-Lev to discuss police leaks today

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev has put press leaks by senior officers high on his agenda for tomorrow's regular meeting with the police top command.

A source close to the minister told The Jerusalem Post that the Rahamim Haddad affair and other recent unauthorized police contacts with journalists have angered Bar-Lev.

Northern District Commander Haddad learned in the press yesterday morning of his forced retirement because of his contact with the news media.

It was a leak in the Tel Aviv police command that passed on news of the retirement to the press, and senior officers in national police headquarters bemoaned this yesterday, saying that "the behaviour of certain officers has gone beyond the limits."

Haddad for the last year had been seeking the backing of Inspector-General Arye Ivztan in a bid to clear his name of suspicions of corruption. Last spring, Haddad asked then in-

terior minister Yosef Burg to allow him to resign but Burg asked the officer to remain at his post at least until after the elections. Ivztan never threw his weight behind Haddad.

During the trial of Assistant Commander Assaf Hefetz, as the three-man tribunal sought to clarify the relationship between the press and police officers, it was revealed that Haddad had provided a reporter with confidential police documents as part of his efforts to clear his own name.

That revelation prompted Bar-Lev to take Haddad's request to resign into consideration and Sunday night, during a meeting between Ivztan and Bar-Lev, it was decided that Haddad would indeed leave the force by the end of this year.

By late Sunday night, said sources in National Police Headquarters, the news had reached Tel Aviv, where police sources gave the information to a reporter. By yesterday morning, the radio and the afternoon newspapers were carrying the story and a reporter - not Bar-Lev, Ivztan or the

head of police personnel - informed Haddad of the decision.

"I'm not surprised to hear it this way," said Haddad. "Lately we in the police have learned a lot about the force through leaks to the press."

In further crackdowns on unauthorized contacts between police officers and reporters, three low-ranking Tel Aviv officers were fired from the force yesterday.

The three - two first sergeant majors and a second sergeant - provided a reporter with secret internal documents.

The papers included a copy of the force legal adviser's recommendation for the firing of Chief Superintendent Moshe Friedman, who replaced Hefetz as head of the central unit in the Tel Aviv command.

Friedman is under suspicion of bribery and other malpractices.

The three fired police officers - one woman and two men - argued that they acted "to help clear Hefetz's name," a police source in Jerusalem told The Post.

(Continued from Page One)

to themselves at what they called "the imagination of the suspect."

But they were not smiling when they left. The Magistrate's Court ordered the suspect released, and ordered that he be examined by a doctor. From then until the internal inquiry is completed and a decision is made whether to prosecute the arresting officers in a criminal court, in a disciplinary court or before a single superior officer, the arresting officers have "green files."

Such a file is bad news for a policeman. It means a freeze on any promotions, courses, or raises. A policeman has no means of appeal concerning a green file. All he can do is wait.

Last year 14.7 per cent of the complaints about violence by policemen were found to be justified. In Jerusalem, only 5 per cent of complaints about police brutality last year were justified. In Tel Aviv the

POLICE VIOLENCE

rate was close to 15 per cent. Many of the complaints come from the smaller towns in the Negev and Galilee.

After a complaint in court or directly to the police complaints bureau, an inquiry is ordered and a green file opened. A police recommendation is then passed on to the State Attorney's Office and the local district attorney. The DA then decides whether to throw out the case, or to recommend a three-man disciplinary tribunal, a hearing before a senior officer, or to bring the case to court.

The process can take days, weeks, months or years, depending on the complexity of the case or even on the workload of the DA's office.

Veteran police officers argue that the police are capable of investigating their own men.

They note that the police are the

only civilian investigating authority in the country, and maintain that the investigating officers will "always bend over backwards" to prove their objectivity.

"My guess is that 99 per cent of the cases we investigate would be thrown out of a regular criminal court," said a top ranking officer who regularly handles reports on police brutality.

This officer, unlike most of his colleagues, would prefer to see all cases of police brutality go to court.

But officers arguing in favour of the police investigating themselves point out that this is the practice all over the world.

Some officers think court investigations would improve the police image; but the courts do not want the workload, and the police do not want to "impose themselves" on the courts.

This is the first in a series of three articles.

Post Office to issue IS500 stamp

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Stamp purchasers sending heavy packages or thick envelopes abroad will soon be able to save a few licks by using a IS500 stamp.

The Philatelic Service of the Communications Ministry is to issue the stamp next Tuesday. It will be the highest denomination of any Israeli stamp, and five times the value of the current top stamp. The stamp will bear a wheat design.

The Philatelic Services will also issue a IS400 stamp next week bearing the likeness of Rabbi Yitzhak Halevy Herzog, the late chief rabbi of Israel and father of the president.

A ministry spokesman told The Jerusalem Post that it is aware of the problems caused by the low face value of stamps. He admitted, however, that he did not know when the next stamp of higher denomination would be issued.

"It takes two years to produce a stamp," he said, "and the decision must be taken first by an inter-ministerial committee." Asked why a stamp with a uniform design could not be issued with new denominations according to the inflation rate, he said that too is up to the committee.

For those pieces of mail that require large numbers of stamps, the

ministry spokesman suggests the purchase of postal metre labels corresponding with the sums required for postage. But he conceded that such machines are not available at all post office branches.

There has still not been approval for a non-denominated overseas aerogramme, since international agreements prohibit their use. But the ministry hopes that agreement will be reached, since purchasers of such aerogrammes must constantly add more stamps to the original sheets, lengthening queues at post offices, increasing the annoyance of customers and advertising Israel's hyperinflation abroad.

2 Gazans arrested for operating 'mobile bank'

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Two Gaza residents were arrested here yesterday for selling black-market dollars from their car. The car served as a "mobile bank" for customers in the area of the central post office.

The two Gazans, father and son, were arrested after trying to sell dollars to a non-uniformed policeman. Some \$800 and a quantity of shekels were found in their possession. Police also seized the vehicle.

West Bank olive harvest down by 50% this year

NABLUS (Itim). - The West Bank olive harvest is down 50 per cent this year as compared to last year, but some 25,000 tons of oil have been sold to Jordan at IS2,000 per litre.

Several thousand workers who normally work in Israel are currently picking olives. They are expected to return to their jobs at the end of the season.

Defence minister appoints assistant on settlement

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin has appointed Shimon Shebas as his assistant on settlement and development areas.

Shebas, 32, lives on a kibbutz in the Golan Heights and until a year ago was chairman of the Golan Settlement Council. (Itim)

Terminal hospice to open on Mt. Scopus

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A hospice for the terminally ill is to open shortly on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem under the auspices of Hadassah Hospital. The hospice has been made possible by a \$1 million contribution by Jack and Ina Kay of Washington D.C.

This 20-bed hospice will be located in the home of the one-time Hadassah director, Dr. Haim Yaski, who was killed in 1948 in the convoy of medical personnel that was ambushed on its way to Mt. Scopus.

Ministry warns against textbook

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Education Ministry has warned teachers not to use a textbook by Amnon Haver called *Central Issues in Recent History of the State and the Nation*.

The ministry spokesman said this week that teachers who oblige their pupils to study this book are violating ministry instructions.

The book, which has been used in a number of schools in history and civics classes, contains numerous references to the "Palestinian nation," and the "Palestinian people" and uses perjorative language when referring to the Israeli presence in the West Bank.

TV plans briefings on economy for layman

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel TV plans to offer a daily briefing on developments in the economy, presented in layman's terms.

The proposal, raised by Broadcasting Authority Director-General Uri Porat, was approved by the authority's board of directors yesterday. No date for starting the programmes has been set.

The board also recommended that TV boost programming aimed at fighting traffic accidents. Unconnected with this, they sent their condolences to former director-general Yosef Lapid and his wife on the death of their daughter in a head-on collision.

W. German agriculture minister due on visit

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - West German Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle is to arrive here this evening for talks with his Israeli counterpart Arye Nehamkin. During his five-day visit, Kiechle will discuss ways for Israel to improve its relations with the European Community in the light of Spain and Portugal joining the EC next year.

West Germany last year bought DM364 million (IS70b.) worth of flowers, fruits and vegetables from Israel. The guest will visit kibbutzim, moshavim and Yad Vashem, and will plant a tree in the Peace Forest. He will also meet Prime Minister Peres.

Kiechle is a member of the Bavarian Christian Social Union Party. He has been agriculture minister since March 1983.

Armand Hammer to invest \$1m. to start oil search here

By TOM TUGEND
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LOS ANGELES. - Armand Hammer, head of one of America's largest oil companies, announced here Sunday evening that he is organizing a syndicate for extensive oil drilling in Israel.

"I believe there is oil in Israel, but the country is underexplored," said Hammer, chairman of the board of the Occidental Petroleum Corp. "I am putting up \$1 million of my own money to start off the syndicate," he said, adding that he is putting together the legal framework "starting tomorrow" and will be in Israel in January to get the work under way.

Also in January, Hammer announced, he will meet with Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko and at that time will discuss "the situation of the Jews in Russia and try to raise the level of emigration."

Hammer was speaking at an Israel Bonds dinner, attended by Foreign Minister Shamir. Shamir told the 1,000 bond supporters from Europe and Latin America that "Israel is militarily more secure than ever" and that "the economy is now the first priority."

The foreign minister conferred Israel's 1984 Golda Meir Leadership Award on Hammer and praised his commitment to international peace and to the economic development of Israel.

In his response, Hammer said that no more than 300 exploratory oil wells have been drilled in Israel in contrast to the 5,000 sunk in the U.S. last year alone.

A total of \$66m. in Bonds was sold during the evening. Hammer purchased \$1m. worth of bonds and made a pledge for \$2m. more.

During his first 80 years, Hammer studiously avoided any identification with Jewish or Israeli causes. The initial turnout came in 1980, when

the local Jewish Federation Council honoured the oil tycoon at a public banquet.

The decision was greeted by protests in the Jewish community and press, and one reporter wrote at the time that "if there is a Jew in this country who is less deserving of recognition and honour from the Jewish community, I am not aware of his existence."

Since then, numerous other Jewish organizations have hastened to bestow awards on Hammer. In recent months, Hammer flew his personal cardiologist to examine former prime minister Menachem Begin and earlier performed a similar favour for Begin's wife Aliza.

Most recently, he loaned part of his extensive art collection to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and two years ago played an undefined role in persuading the Polish government to release for exhibit a collection of Jewish artifacts.



Lebanese Forces emissary in Jerusalem Pierre Yazbek on Sunday inaugurates the Lebanon Park in Jerusalem's Gilo neighbourhood, as Mayor Teddy Kollek holds the Lebanese flag. The park is a gift of the Lebanese Christian Agency to the people of Jerusalem. (Rahamim Israeli).

'Rapid tribunals' still giving high fines to freeze breakers

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Arab shopkeeper who displayed prices in code rather than in shekels was fined IS70,000 by Beersheba Magistrates Court yesterday, as tough enforcement continued of the 90-day price freeze declared on November 4.

The freeze not only forbids increases in prices beyond their November 2 level, but also requires retailers to display their prices in shekels.

Judge Moshe Michlis rejected the shopkeeper's argument that the code could be translated into shekels. Customarily, coding of prices is used by small merchants as a method of linking the prices to the dollar. In some supermarkets, codes are used in the operation of the cash registers.

Since the price freeze went into effect, inspectors from the Ministry

of Industry and Trade have made almost 20,000 spot checks of business establishments, a ministry spokesman said yesterday. About 2,500 summonses have been issued, relatively few of them for overcharging. Most have been for failing to display shekel prices, or for quoting prices in dollars.

The seven "rapid-justice tribunals," established throughout the country especially to deal with cases of price freeze violations, have heard about 1,900 cases so far and have imposed fines totalling more than IS25 million. Most of the violations have been uncovered by inspectors, with fewer than 1,500 complaints coming from the public.

The Transport Ministry yesterday warned car importers not to withhold from the market any vehicles they are keeping in stock in the hope of selling at a higher price after February 1.

Kiryat Shmona strike is over

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Kiryat Shmona returned to normal yesterday as municipal workers, teachers and others who struck in sympathy with them since November 11 went back to work.

The strike was called after Mayor Prosper Azran notified city employees that their October salaries - due on November 5 - would not be paid because the city's coffers were empty.

On Sunday, Azran and members of his town council met with Prime Minister Peres in Jerusalem. Among their demands was one for a state allocation of \$2.7 million for repair of the city's roads, parks, stone walls and water supply network. These were damaged by tanks, armoured personnel carriers and other heavy military vehicles passing through Kiryat Shmona during the invasion of Lebanon.

Peres listened sympathetically and as acting interior minister - promised Azran he would give "special attention" to the northern border town, whose administration had been in the hands of an appointed council for a long period before the present elected council took office.

Shmuel Shemesh, director of the Interior Ministry's finance and budget department, told The Jerusalem Post yesterday that besides the damage to its infrastructure, Kiryat Shmona's financial problems are similar to those of other local authorities. He said Kiryat Shmona's annual budget is about IS2.5 billion, and "we have been passing the money due to them on time."

"However, as a special gesture, we have granted them an advance payment, on account of future funding, to help tide them over their difficulties."

Today, Peres will meet with leaders of Arab local authorities on their financial problems. Nazareth's 370 municipal employees returned to work yesterday after the municipality obtained a IS60m. bank loan to pay their October salaries. Another IS15m. was transferred from the development budget to the operating budget. The workers had been on strike for a month.

Many of Nazareth's city workers came to Jerusalem yesterday, to demonstrate outside the Knesset against "the dire financial plight of the Arab local authorities."

Road accidents cost \$215m. in 1984

Some \$215 million in damage has resulted from road accidents since the beginning of the year. This was reported yesterday by Moshe Amirav, head of the Transport Ministry's Road Accident Authority.

Speaking at a conference of about 100 representatives of various ministries and road-safety officials from some 35 cities, Amirav said that the government budget for road safety would be increased in the coming year to \$40m. from \$30m.

The cabinet, he said, would soon discuss again a proposal to impose a 2 per cent tax on petrol to fund the road-safety programme. Such a tax would bring in about \$16m. annually, he said.

According to the Road Safety authority, since the campaign for checking vehicles began two weeks ago, 74,000 drivers have had their vehicles examined at garages and received mechanical fitness stickers. (Itim)

Golan Druse go to Syria for medical care

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. - Israel yesterday allowed two Golan Heights Druse to cross the border into Syria to receive medical care there, an act condemned by pro-Israel Golan Druse.

Suleiman Ahmed al-Makht of Majdal Shams and Abu Abdallah al-Kish of Buk'ata crossed the border

in the Kuneitra area accompanied by International Red Cross representatives, en route to Damascus.

Israel's supporters among the local Druse said that in allowing the passage Israel had succumbed to the pressure of anti-Israel extremists who have been demanding that they be allowed to receive medical care in Syria for years.

In the past two years Israel has forbidden Druse to cross into Syria. Before the Golan was annexed, however, some Druse students and teachers had been allowed to study in Syria.

MAYORS. - A 50-member delegation of mayors and civic leaders from southern France, visiting Israel as guests of the Local Authorities Union, was hosted at Haifa city hall yesterday by Mayor Arye Gurel.

The first inside account of the "war with no victors," this provocative Israeli bestseller, originally titled "Milchemet Sholei," is a full and graphic documentation of the Lebanon War. The complete and probing reconstruction of the war's history and developments include its origins, its conduct and the quagmire of its aftermath. Two of Israel's most respected journalists wrote this extraordinary, remarkably detailed narrative, basing it on information from inside sources "with precision and sensitivity...an exhaustive study that is likely to endure as the definitive book on the Lebanon War."

—David Shipler, *The New York Times*. Published by Simon and Schuster, hardcover, 320 pages. PRICE: IS 9,872.

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Musicians and music lovers are invited to attend the classes.
Program subject to change without prior notice.
With the support of the
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Tomorrow — Civil Defence Exercise in the Ramat Hasharon Area
Tomorrow, Wednesday, November 21, 1984, between 6 a.m. and 5 p.m., there will be a Civil Defence exercise in the Ramat Hasharon area.
During the course of the exercise, there will be simulated firing and explosions and the all clear will be sounded.
In case of an actual alert, sirens will be sounded on an ascending/descending scale.

ISRAEL'S LEBANON WAR
THE EXPLOSIVE ISRAELI BEST SELLER
THE FIRST INSIDE ACCOUNT OF A WAR WITHOUT VICTORS
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Genscher to press Poles on detente

BONN (Reuters). - West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher will urge Poland to support a revival of East-West detente during a three-day visit to Warsaw starting tomorrow, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

It will be the first high-level official meeting between the two countries for almost three years and comes as a new phase of East-West relations can be expected following the landslide re-election of U.S. President Reagan.

In this context, West Germany's ambassadors to the Warsaw Pact countries and its key Nato envoys will meet in Bonn this month to discuss the next steps in developing relations between the two blocs.

The meeting will be just before Chancellor Helmut Kohl flies to Washington on November 29 for talks with Reagan which will be dominated by this theme, the sources added.

They noted signs of a renewed

dialogue between Washington and Moscow and said that meetings between East and West European countries should play a "flanking" role.

Genscher expects to follow up his Warsaw trip with visits to Prague next month and to Budapest, Sofia and Belgrade early next year.

In Warsaw his programme will include talks with Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski and Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

The sources declined to say whether Genscher would meet any

opposition leaders or visit the grave of murdered pro-Solidarity priest Jerzy Popieluszko. They indicated he would follow Polish guidance on any private last-minute additions to his schedule.

Following the lifting of martial law by Poland, Bonn sees Genscher's visit as a way of bringing Warsaw out of political isolation and restoring its full role in East-West relations, the sources said.

Genscher's other major aim will be to persuade Warsaw that Bonn genuinely wishes to continue post-war reconciliation with Poland.

Poland to leave ILO for 'anti-Polish' acts

GENEVA (AP). - Poland, in a move to be followed by yet unspecified measures by its Soviet bloc allies, has given formal notice of withdrawal from the International Labour Organization to protest "the escalation of anti-Polish actions" in the agency, the ILO confirmed

yesterday. ILO director-general Francis Blanchard, who released the text of the Polish notice, expressed regret at the decision triggered by an ILO governing body vote last Friday to accept a report critical of the human rights situation in Poland.

Thatcher begins talks on IRA with Irish PM

LONDON (Reuters). - Surrounded by tight security at her country retreat, Prime Minister Thatcher began talks yesterday with Irish leader Garret Fitzgerald on ending guerrilla violence in Northern Ireland.

The venue, switched at the last minute, was kept secret until the Irish prime minister arrived on Sunday night at Thatcher's official country residence, Chequers, 50km. west of London.

The outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA) narrowly failed to assassinate Thatcher and many members of her cabinet in a bomb attack on a hotel in the seaside resort of Brighton last month during her Conservative Party's annual conference.

The meeting was originally set for Dublin, and the switch prompted criticism of Fitzgerald by Irish opposition leader Charles Haughey, who said it showed lack of faith in Ireland's security forces.

British sources said the two sides would look at strengthening cooperation on security matters. The Guardian said one outcome could be the formation of an advisory security commission.

Drought victims in Ethiopia to be resettled

ADDIS ABABA (Reuters). - An ambitious scheme to resettle up to 2.5 million of Ethiopia's nine million drought victims began last week, state television reported last night.

It showed pictures of groups of peasants at Makelle, in drought-stricken northern Tigray province, boarding a Soviet aircraft to be flown to more fertile areas.

Further south at Dessie, the regional capital of Wollo province, thousands of drought victims were filmed boarding buses for their new homes.

Foreign donors have organized large airlifts of food to Ethiopia where the failure of spring and autumn rains has threatened about nine million people with starvation, according to Ethiopian officials.

Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam told a news conference on Saturday that the government planned to move around 2.5 million people from regions where drought has made their way of life impossible to more fertile western areas.

Briton dies of Aids after blood transfer

NEWCASTLE (Reuters). - A 33-year-old Briton has died of the mysterious disease Aids after receiving blood transfusions in a Newcastle hospital, officials said yesterday.

Victoria Infirmary officials said they did not know whether laboratory worker Terence McStay developed the acquired immune deficiency syndrome from contaminated blood plasma earlier this month.

The disease is particularly prevalent among male homosexuals and self-injecting drug addicts, but the officials said McStay was neither. He suffered from hemophilia, in which blood fails to clot normally.

The case aroused special concern in the light of reports from Australia that 13 people have died after receiving blood from an Aids carrier.

McStay was the second British hemophiliac to die of Aids after blood transfusions. Officials said altogether 37 people have succumbed to the disease in this country.

Ceausescu favours remaining in Warsaw Pact

BUCHAREST (Reuters). - Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu made clear yesterday his country, which has restricted military cooperation with its Soviet bloc allies, would extend its membership in the Warsaw Pact when it comes up for renewal next year.

Speaking to the 13th Rumanian Communist Party congress, Ceausescu said this is because the pact and Nato have not been able to agree on disbanding the two alliances.

Armenians suspected in killing of Turkish diplomat in Vienna

VIENNA (Reuters). - A Turkish diplomat was shot dead in his car in central Vienna yesterday and police said they found evidence that an Armenian group was responsible.

Witnesses said two shots were fired into the car of 52-year-old UN diplomat Enver Ergun at a busy crossroads early yesterday morning.

Police told the Austrian Press Agency a black cloth bearing the initials "ARA," apparently standing for Armenian Revolutionary Army, was found in the car.

The ARA has also claimed responsibility for a car-bomb blast outside the Turkish Embassy here in June, which killed one Turkish diplomat and seriously injured an Austrian policeman.

Ergun was deputy director of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, and had been working here since 1979.

Workers in a bank overlooking the scene said they saw a man in blue jeans running towards a nearby underground railway station, tucking what appeared to be a pistol into his jacket.

Armenian groups have claimed responsibility for killing more than 30 Turks living abroad, mostly diplomats and their relatives, in a decade of bombings and shootings spanning cities as far apart as Los Angeles, Paris and Sydney.

Turkey is accused by some Armenian exile groups of having massacred hundreds of thousands of their people in 1915, a charge denied by Turkey.

A Turkish official in Tel Aviv yesterday evening said the murder victim was not a diplomat, as reported, but "a Turkish citizen" employed by the UN in Vienna.

Gandhi says world powers have tried to destabilize India

NEW DELHI (Reuters). - Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said yesterday a conspiracy to break up India was the reason for his mother's assassination.

Addressing a crowd of about 100,000 people, Gandhi did not say if the conspiracy went beyond India's borders but charged that all the world's powers have tried to destabilize India.

"There was a conspiracy to kill Indira Gandhi and to break up and weaken the country," he said. "We have to see where the hand reaches."

The rally in the capital marked the unofficial launch of the campaign for Indian elections on December 24.

After Indira Gandhi's murder by two Sikh bodyguards 20 days ago, there was unprecedented security for Rajiv's first public speech.

Crowds were kept up to 20 metres back from Gandhi and sharpshooters were posted in trees.

Gandhi vowed that India would never bow to the conspirators and would maintain an independent path.

"We have shown to the world that our country is stronger than the might of the bullet," he said.

He told the gathering: "We will take revenge for this assassination, not by anger or rancour, but by sinking all differences and fighting with all our might against the forces of disunity and disintegration."

Several hours after the speech, an Indian external affairs ministry spokesman told reporters New Delhi had protested to Pakistan about encouragement it gave to Sikh extremists.

Indira Gandhi's official residence has been declared a national memorial, the government announced yesterday.

The residence is 1, Safdarjung Road, on the capital's main avenue, where Gandhi lived for 17 years. The official announcement also said the government would set up an international peace prize in her name, that New Delhi's new international airport would be named after her and that a mausoleum would be erected at Shantivana (forest of peace) where Gandhi was cremated.

'Pravda' calls for purge of corrupt Soviet officials

MOSCOW (Reuters). - Pravda said yesterday that too many corrupt Communist Party officials are still in their posts, and renewed calls for a shake-up to remove them.

An editorial in the party daily said officials throughout the country had managed to put themselves beyond the reach of normal controls or criticism and held on to important positions, which they no longer had any right to fill.

The article echoed themes of a drive launched last year under former president Yuri Andropov to purge the party and install younger and more able officials in key posts.

Western diplomats said the article indicated senior Kremlin figures are determined to press on with the campaign, which has shown signs of flagging since Andropov was succeeded last February by Konstantin Chernenko.

"It is no secret that here and there we find a gulf between words and deeds, embezzlement, bribe-taking and economic mismanagement are not uncommon," Pravda said.

It said another major problem is that many party officials had been in their posts so long that they had lost any feeling for weaknesses and shortcomings in the areas under their control.

Pravda also reported that a crackdown within the police force launched under Andropov is continuing.

It said that after it passed on readers' complaints to the Interior Ministry four senior policemen had been sacked and five severely disciplined in the Ukraine for offences such as wrongful arrest and drunkenness.

80 dead in Mexican blast

MEXICO CITY (Reuters). - At least 80 people were killed and 500 injured when a series of explosions rocked a gas distribution centre in Mexico City yesterday, police and Red Cross officials said.

Columns of flame erupted about 100 metres over the centre and several hours later a thick black cloud hung over the area as fires burned, residents said.

The centre in the industrial suburb of Ecatepec is a collection and distribution centre for propane, liquid gas and natural gas, said Pemex, the state oil company.

Hundreds of people were evacuated and major gas and petrol pipes in Mexico City shut down to avoid further blasts after the first big explosion occurred.

Firefighters were rushed in from surrounding states.

"It's like a war zone," one fire chief said, warning that more explosions were possible. Police broadcast appeals to people to stay away from the area.

The cause of the initial blast was not immediately known. Police said a leaking gas duct had ignited, but the official Notimex news agency said a truck had blown up at the centre.

Sri Lankan colonel killed by guerrillas

COLOMBO (Reuters). - An army colonel was killed and nine security men were wounded in two guerrilla attacks in Sri Lanka's troubled northern Jaffna district yesterday, police said.

Col. A. Ariyaperuma was the

highest-ranking army officer to die in combat with guerrillas.

Police said an army convoy was on an anti-guerrilla operation at Telipalli, when one of the vehicles hit a land mine laid by guerrillas fighting for a separate minority Tamil state.

Col. Ariyaperuma was the

Chad seen as blow to Mitterrand

PARIS (Reuters). - A diplomatic bungle over the withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad looks like dealing another blow to the declining political fortunes of President Francois Mitterrand.

Elected in May 1981 for a seven-year term, Mitterrand this month entered the second half of his mandate with opinion polls showing him to be easily the most unpopular French president since the Fifth Republic was founded in 1958.

Most polls show that barely one French voter in four thinks Mitterrand is doing a good job, largely because he is blamed for mishandling the economy.

Until last week, the 68-year-old president could console himself with the thought that whatever his domestic record, his foreign policy was largely unchallenged, even by political foes.

When France announced in September it had agreed with Libya on a joint military pullout from

Chad, it was widely seen as the successful climax to a year-old military operation designed to force the Libyans out.

The Libyans were backing rebels holding the northern part of the former French colony and fighting the forces of Chad President Hissene Habre.

Earlier this month a Franco-Libyan communique announced a completed withdrawal from Chad by 3,200 French troops and an estimated 6,000 to 7,000 Libyan force.

Last Friday Mitterrand, after a hastily arranged meeting in Crete with Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, admitted up to 1,000 Libyan soldiers were still there.

The discrepancy brought unprecedented criticism, with commentators seeing it as a personal failure for Mitterrand.

Mitterrand Sunday ordered reconnaissance flights over Chad and sent Defence Minister Charles Hernu and Chief of Staff Jeannou

Lacaze to N'djamena, the Chadian capital. External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson said Sunday night that if the Libyans stayed in Chad then so would the French.

"What happened in Chad is a personal failure for Francois Mitterrand," the right-wing daily *Le Quotidien* wrote yesterday. *Le Monde* spoke of "the biggest foreign policy blunder so far."

Opposition leaders also had harsh words for the president. "What has been done is unworthy of France," said centrist UDF's Francois Leotard. "The French have been cheated," said Jacques Toubon, newly appointed secretary general of the Gaullist RPR party.

Gaddafi said yesterday he was committed to his agreement with France.

"Libya will not in the future fight in Chad with tanks and aircraft. Libya would only go in if another country went in," he said.

Sports

Maccabi mastery

By DON GOULD
Post Basketball Reporter

TEL AVIV. - A diluted Maccabi Tel Aviv team overcame a national Israeli basketball squad 103-108 last night, despite the fact that Mickey Berkowitz, Lou Silver and Howard Lassoff were playing for Israel against their own club team. Furthermore, Zvi Sherf was coaching the national team, instead of Maccabi.

Maccabi's star was Kevin Magee, who scored 44 points - and these before he fouled out with 7½ minutes still to play. Lee Johnson added 20. For the national team, Silver scored 26 and Berkowitz 25.

Windies walloped

SYDNEY (Reuters). - Spinners Bob Holland and Murray Bennett swept away the remainder of the 'West Indies' batting yesterday to give New South Wales an upset 71-run victory over the tourists.

The spin duo took 15 of the 20 West Indian wickets to fall over the four days of the match and were rewarded later with places in the Australian side for the second test beginning in Brisbane on Friday.

Leg-spinner Holland took three for 38 and left-arm orthodox bowler Bennett captured six for 35 to give them seven and eight wickets respectively in the match.

Only Clive Lloyd, who followed his unbeaten first innings of 64 with 47 in the West Indies' second innings of 133 all out, showed the patience and technique necessary to deal with the New South Wales' spin attack.

Although Lloyd had batted over the captaincy for the match to Viri Richards, he still gave the post-match news conference. "We didn't bat well, but there are no excuses," Lloyd said. "We couldn't come to terms with the New South Wales' bowling, but there won't be any sleepless nights over it. Their bowlers stuck to their task and bowled really well."

Scores: NSW 287 and 129, W.I. 212 and 133. In Lahore, Pakistan were 153 for three in their second innings at the close of the fourth day of the first cricket test against New Zealand.

They need 25 runs for victory with a day left to play.

New Zealand 157 and 241. Pakistan 221 and 153 for three.

In Ahmedabad, the England cricketers suffered one of their most humiliating defeats on Indian soil when they lost by an innings and 59 runs against India's under-25 team today. It was England's first defeat in a first-class match, outside the test programme, for 51 years.

Trailing by 176 runs following the Young Indians' first innings of 392 for six declared, the England batsmen were destroyed by spinners Gopal Sharma and Shivaram Krishnan on the final day of their three-day match. They were skittled out for 117 in their second innings on an easy-paced wicket on which the under-25s had experienced little difficulty in making runs.

England 216 and 117. India under 25 392 for six.

Football shocks

NEW YORK (AP). - The favoured Dallas Cowboys, Washington Redskins and St. Louis Cardinals were all beaten on Sunday, throwing the National Football Conference Eastern Division race into a log-jam at the top.

The Cowboys were vanquished by the hitherto winless Buffalo Bills, the Redskins were beaten by the Philadelphia Eagles and the Cardinals dropped a 16-pt. decision to the underdogs, the New York Giants.

The results locked the Cowboys, Redskins and Giants into a three-way tie for first in the division, while the Cardinals dropped to fourth, only a game behind the leaders.

In other National Football League action, it was Chicago over Detroit, Green Bay over Los Angeles Rams, Cleveland over Atlanta.

New England over Indianapolis, and Seattle over Cincinnati.

Joh'burg jitters

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). - Late withdrawals by Ecuador's Andres Gomez and Gene Mayer of the United States have created headaches for the organisers of the South African Tennis Open which begins here tomorrow.

Gomez was expected to be the top seed, but the Ecuadorian has been sidelined by injury. The organisers then received a further blow when Mayer said he would not be playing, and tournament director Keith Brebnor has spent the past 48 hours scrambling for replacements.

Brebnor had managed to recruit last year's beaten Wimbledon finalist Chris Lewis of New Zealand and Australian Davis Cup player John Fitzgerald.

Last year's winner, South African-born John Krake of the United States, is now the top seed, but there are doubts over his fitness following a back injury in a tournament last week.

Other top-ranked players include Americans Jimmy Arias, Elliot Teltscher, Vince Gerulaitis and Tim Gallahan of the U.S., plus Jose Figueras of Spain and Jose-Luis Clerc of Argentina.

Arias is seeded second with Teltscher third and Gerulaitis fourth.

Maradona marches

LONDON (Reuters). - Diego Maradona, the Argentine international so expensively imported by Napoli after an unhappy spell with Barcelona, was sent off 15 minutes from the end of Napoli's bad-tempered 1-1 draw at Ascoli, after creating his team's opening goal for Domenico Penzo.

Venezia had equalized for struggling Ascoli. The game degenerated into a brawl when Maradona was sent off with Ascoli captain Nicolini who later claimed Maradona had hit him in the face.

It was the first time Maradona had been sent off in Italy, but not the first dismissal of his career. He was sent off while playing for Argentina in the 1983 World Cup final for kicking Batista of Brazil during a second-phase game in Barcelona.

Last season, playing for Barcelona in Spain, he was involved in a brawl on the pitch immediately after the Spanish Cup final against Athletic Bilbao in Madrid and was suspended for three months.

Indian protest

NEW DELHI (Reuters). - India protested to Pakistan over what it described as Islamabad's support to Sikh separatists and pulled out of a major international hockey tournament in Karachi, scheduled to start on December 7.

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Ask for Gerry Kriss

Back To Reality

Stockman's Data Collide With Boss's Promises

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

AS if on cue, the deficit alarms went off in the White House last week. Gone was the talk of prosperity and painless budget choices in President Reagan's re-election campaign. In its place were distasteful quandaries about taxes, spending and dark economic forecasts.

The change of mood was all but inevitable. It has become almost routine for Mr. Reagan to leave for his California ranch for the Thanksgiving holidays amid warnings from his advisers that deep cuts in popular domestic spending programs would be needed. November is the month when all Presidents begin to think about the budgets they must submit in January for the next fiscal year. And for half a decade, the fact of life in preparing the budget has been a staggering deficit. Most experts agree that the deficit is the gravest threat to the economy and the biggest domestic challenge of Mr. Reagan's second term.

White House officials had been saying that this would be their most difficult budget preparation ever. The reason is that Mr. Reagan in his re-election campaign ruled out the obvious options to reduce the deficit, much to the dismay of David A. Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget. The President said he would not raise taxes, touch Social Security or weaken the "safety net" for the poor. Last week Administration officials admitted, albeit anonymously, that it may not be possible to keep those promises. In two Cabinet meetings and more than 12 hours of meetings among Mr. Reagan's political and economic advisers, officials got what is known at the White House as "reality therapy." Administration officials said the point was to acquaint everyone with the problem and instill the fortitude to solve it. By implication, Cabinet officers were told that if they weren't prepared to go along with spending reductions, there was still time to resign.

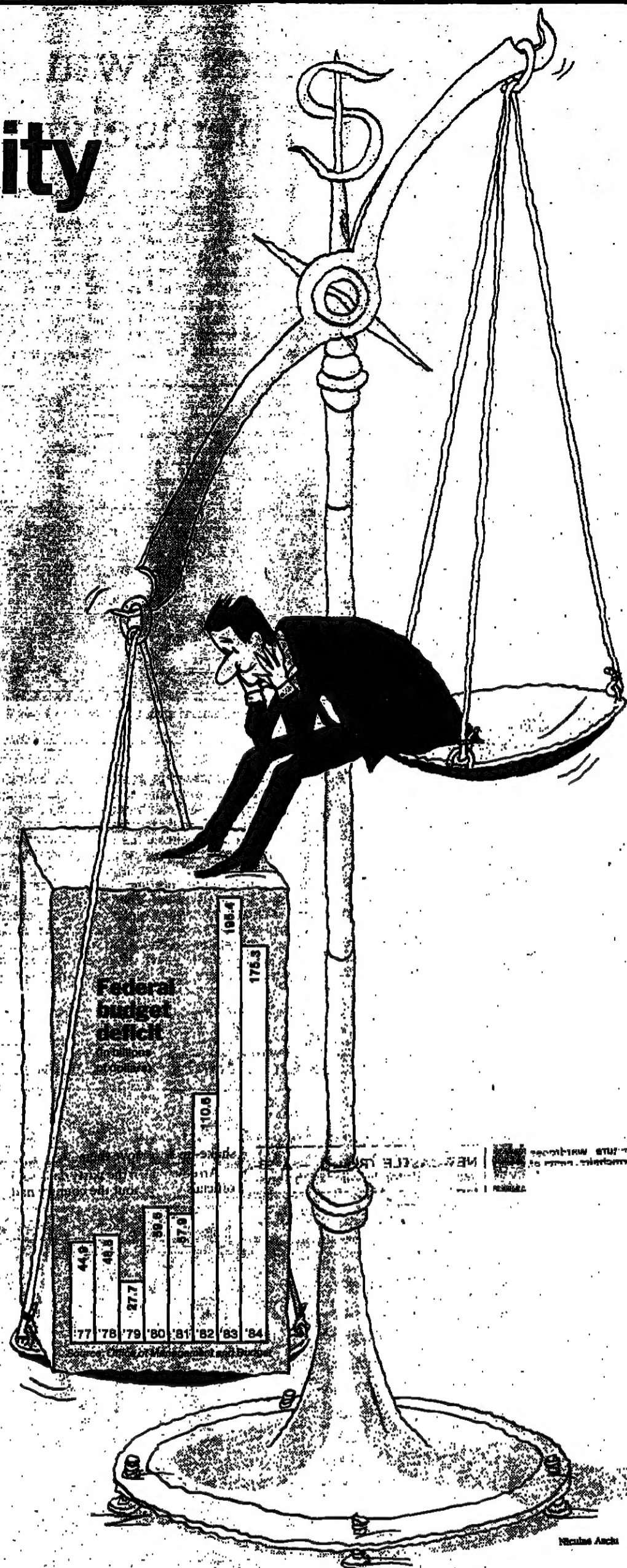
Mr. Bell did not resign, as Mr. Bell said he was tired of fighting off Mr. Stockman's cuts. "Some people around here still thought that we could eliminate the deficit simply by management improvements or getting rid of waste and fraud," a White House aide said. Others added that a more widely held belief was also dispelled: that growth would generate sufficient revenue to make the deficit disappear by itself. These very notions were passed along by Mr. Reagan in his first debate with Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic Presidential candidate.

\$38 Billion More

Far from disappearing, the deficit had grown worse since the Administration last measured it, and there was some reason to believe that the worst was yet to come. Mr. Stockman's latest figures suggested that the deficit for the current fiscal year, which ends Sept. 30, will be \$210 billion, up from \$172 billion projected last summer. For the next year — fiscal 1986 — the deficit was projected by Mr. Stockman at about \$200 billion assuming nothing is done to cut it.

The factors in the deficit's growth were greater-than-anticipated Congressional appropriations and less-than-expected revenues because of the economy's slowdown in the last few months. Last week, it was reported that retail sales and factory use both dipped slightly in October, although production remained steady after declining slightly in September. These and other signs compelled Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan to tell the Cabinet that the economy could be headed for a more sluggish period. Mr. Regan took a shot at the Federal Reserve Board, contending that its tight grip on money supply growth was threatening the economy.

Familiar as they were, the warnings of deficits brought equally familiar reactions. Conservative Republicans, for example, accused Mr. Stockman of "cooking" the numbers, as one put it, to stampede the Administration into proposing a tax increase. This is the only latest battle between the "prags," a term for pragmatists, and



the "wingers," as some right-wingers call themselves. Indeed, some officials acknowledged that the budget director had decided there was no practical way to close the deficit without raising taxes. Mr. Stockman was described as feeling that the only way a sizable dent could be made on the budget would be to aim for an early compromise with Democrats over spending cuts, tax increases and reductions in the growth of military spending. Some Republicans predicted that the vehicle for compromise could come if there are bipartisan discussions to simplify the tax code. Mr. Reagan restated his position last week that any tax simplification plan, possibly including a modified flat tax rate, should not be used to in-

crease total tax revenue. But many think it will be impossible to avoid doing just that.

There was little sentiment for such a compromise right now, even among the "prags." The ultimate pragmatist, James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, was said to be insisting that Mr. Reagan's credibility — not to mention his popularity — lay in his reputation as a man of his word. He thus argued that the President had to submit a budget with no tax increases and no cuts in Social Security. The aim of Mr. Baker and his White House associates was to assemble a package of domestic spending cuts, perhaps with a slight reduction in the growth of Pentagon spending, bringing the deficit to below \$150 billion by the 1988 fiscal year. That would put the deficit in what was said to be the ballpark figure of 2 to 3 percent of the gross national product.

Little doubt existed that such a budget would send up alarms on Capitol Hill, and not only among Democrats. Certain to be on that list of cuts were welfare, health care and child nutrition programs, food stamps and school aid. Farm price supports would be included, as well as retirement benefits of veterans and the civil service. In theory, the White House wants to avoid sending a budget to Congress that is "D.O.A. — dead on arrival," as a White House aide put it. But if that isn't possible, then at least the goal was to submit one that embodied the President's wishes, leaving it to Congress to propose changes if it wanted to deal with the deficit.

White House aides were concerned about the problems such a budget would throw on the laps of the Senate and House Republicans who are already worried about re-election in 1986. But while the White House was undergoing its budget convulsions, Democrats were uncharacteristically silent. An aide to the Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., said Mr. O'Neill would wait before firing off any blasts. "The Speaker wants the President to come forward with a very clear statement of what he wants the country to accept," the aide said. "What Stockman says now means nothing. If there's going to be an Armageddon, we're waiting for Ronald Reagan to say it."

Major News

In Summary

An Attempt at Normal Politics in India

Rajiv Gandhi moved swiftly last week to energize the machinery of Indian democracy and consolidate his position as Prime Minister. After 12 days of official mourning for his assassinated mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, he turned to politics, taking charge of the ruling Congress-I Party and scheduling general elections on Dec. 24 and 27.

In his first policy speech, he promised to continue on the course set by his mother and his grandfather, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Its lodestars are "adherence to socialism" and to India's version of nonalignment — that is, preserving the "wide-ranging and time-tested relationship with the Soviet Union," India's main source of advanced weapons, and continuing economic, technological and cultural cooperation with the United States.

Mr. Gandhi was unanimously chosen party president. He appointed a cousin and close aide, Arun Nehru, a former businessman, as a new general secretary of Congress-I. They are expected to select a bloc of candidates who support Mr. Gandhi.

By promptly calling elections, Mr. Gandhi may benefit from feelings of national unity and sympathy stirred by the assassination. Only 515 of the 542 seats in the lower house will be filled. There will be no voting in Assam, where voter lists are being revised after Hindu-Muslim rioting last year, and Punjab, where Mrs. Gandhi sent troops into the Sikhs' rebel-held Golden Temple, an action that enraged the Sikhs. When she was killed on Oct. 31, the authorities accused Sikh officers. One was killed, a second was wounded and arrested. About 40 members of the security forces have reportedly been questioned.

Looking for evidence of conspiracy, army commandos and intelligence officials last week questioned the suspects and other Sikh policemen. Newspapers speculated about a "foreign hand" behind the assassination. But investigators, skirting innuendoes implicating Pakistan or even the United States, were reportedly concentrating on possible connections with extremist Sikhs in Punjab and abroad. Rajiv Gandhi called for "closer relations with each one of our immediate neighbors in a spirit of peace, friendship and cooperation." He added, "That is what we have offered Pakistan."

They Pick Up And Deliver

NASA has always had trouble drumming up business for — and inspiring confidence in — its space shuttle flights. Last week, the voyage of the spaceship Discovery offered the most dramatic sales pitch to date for the shuttle's services.

In daring walks 224 miles out in space, astronauts salvaged two communications satellites that were fired into useless orbits last February. The mission completed "the third leg of a triangle" of jobs in space, said Jesse W. Moore, the shuttle program chief for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In April, astronauts repaired a crippled satellite and last month they practiced satellite refueling.

Saying that the salvage operation "clearly demonstrated" the shuttle's range of skills in space, Mr. Moore called the Discovery mission

"a very historic day in the American space program."

Equally elated were the insurance underwriters who had arranged for the space agency to recover the satellites. Merrett Syndicates and International Technology Underwriters had paid a total of \$180 million to the Indonesian Government, owner of Palapa B-2, and Western Union Corporation, for its Westar 6. They hope to refurbish the craft and sell them for close to the amount that they cost when new — about \$35 million each. "We'll be forever grateful," said James Barrett, president of International Technology Underwriters, adding that insurers "have gained confidence in the NASA space transportation system."

Discovery's eight-day mission was remarkably smooth, down to its perfect landing at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida. The ship's maiden voyage last summer was floundered by one technical problem after another. Besides the salvage work, the five-person crew put two communications satellites in orbit. And Dr. Anna L. Fisher, who operated the shuttle's robotic arm during the retrieval jobs, took questions about being the first mother in space in good-humored stride. Her daughter, she said, "certainly should have a lot of new bedtime stories."

The Legacy Of Baby Fae

She was a curiosity and a cause célèbre, at once the embodiment of bold new medical technology and of many ethical questions it raises. Death came Thursday evening, 20 days after the heart of a baboon replaced the faltering heart of the tiny, helpless infant known around the world as Baby Fae. But the arguments about the experiment may only be beginning.

Even as doctors attempted to treat Baby Fae's failing kidneys and massage the weakening new heart, details of the historic case were emerging. After the heart defect was first diagnosed, a physician reportedly told the child's mother that she could leave her daughter in Loma Linda University Medical Center in California or take the infant home. Either way, the mother was told, the child's condition was hopeless. The infant would die after sleeping for progressively longer periods. A few days later, she received a call from the medical center asking if she would accept a heart transplant.

Heart from baboons had been transplanted in humans before, but none had lived more than a few days. After discussions with the pediatric surgeon and with the child's father, she gave permission to go ahead. Doses of cyclosporin-A, the new anti-rejection drug, were begun, and after six days of tests the walnut-sized organ was transplanted into the 12-day-old infant. For several days, reports were encouraging. But a week before her death, the signs of rejection were apparent. By Wednesday, Baby Fae was back on a respirator.

Some physicians suspected that the motivation for the procedure was more experimental than therapeutic, while others maintained that the genetic composition of animal tissue differs too much from that of human beings to allow the long-term acceptance of a transplanted organ. But still others agreed with Dr. Bailey that "Baby Fae has opened new vistas for all." Among them were the members of Loma Linda's review board, who have given the surgeon permission to perform four more baboon heart transplants.



How the MIG scare flared and died

3

Nicaraguan troops in Managua



Dr. Joseph P. Allen holding a wayward communication satellite last week as he and another Discovery astronaut tried to dock it in the shuttle's cargo bay.

The Nation



Associated Press
Walter F. Mondale and his wife, Joan, on the beach in St. John, V.I.

Democrats Begin Trying to Dig Their Way Out

The landslide that buried Walter F. Mondale in the Presidential election was big enough to provide every Democratic faction with a stone of blame to cast. And cast they were last week, from the Virgin Islands, where Democratic state leaders gathered for a group autopsy of the campaign, to Washington, where national leaders and their aides exchanged individual accusations.

Some top Mondale aides accused feminist groups of pushing to hard for a female Vice Presidential and then failing to carry women's votes. Some aides of Geraldine A. Ferraro, the Democrats' nominee for that office, accused Mondale aides of running an inept campaign. Mr. Mondale blamed only himself.

Those Democrats who weren't pointing their fingers were wringing their hands. It was roundly agreed that President Reagan's victory was largely attributable to a defection of white male voters in general and white voters of both sexes in the South, but opinion was divided over whether this represented aberrant support of a likeable Republican or a potentially permanent disaffection that threatened the party's future.

Whatever it was, those meeting in the Virgin Islands, among them some who were positioning themselves for a shot in January at Charles T. Manatt's party chairmanship, searched gamely for a means to "recapture the middle" that they perceived Mr. Reagan as having deftly stolen. The tricky part seemed to be finding some way to accomplish that without alienating the Democratic faithful of the old New Deal coalition.

In Washington Senator Gary Hart, the Colorado Democrat who was Mr. Mondale's chief rival for the nomination, called for "new approaches to the existing agenda."

"You can't run in the Democratic Party as an anti-labor candidate, you can't be anti-civil rights, anti-feminist," he said. "But you have to reach (those voters) who don't feel represented by the A.F.L., the NAACP, N.O.W. or the Sierra Club."

Others, including former Democratic Chairman Robert Strauss, suggested that a realignment of the primary process would help. Getting rid of the acrimony that develops along the primary trail, perhaps by having just two or three regional primaries. That might allow candidates to be nominated "without tearing them up," he said.

But, noting that only one Democratic Presidential ticket in the last 20 years has won more than 40 percent of the white vote, he expressed concern that the two parties had become "the party of the haves and the party of the have-nots."

A Career Man Gets Postal Job

Perhaps Edward J. Rollins should have conducted his own campaign for the job of Postmaster General instead of leaving it to White House aides. Last week, the Postal Service board rejected the Administration's appeal on behalf of Mr. Rollins, director of the Reagan-Bush campaign committee, and chose Paul N. Carlin for the job.

John R. McKean, the Reagan appointee who is chairman of the seven-member board, said he and his fellow governors wanted a career postal administrator such as Mr. Carlin, who is now in charge of the service's three-state Chicago region. They also wanted to move the agency "further away than ever before" from political considerations, he said. However, another candidate, Tom Costin, president of the

National Association of Postmasters, reportedly was rejected because of his ties to Democrats.

Politics or not, some White House aides said they thought Mr. Rollins might have gotten the job if lobbying for him had been a bit more timely. The postal board has been seeking a successor to Postmaster General William F. Bolger for a year, and Mr. Rollins's name wasn't raised until last week.

If timing worked against Mr. Rollins, it will work for Mr. Carlin. By the time he takes over the service in January, some major headaches should be out of the way.

An arbitration board headed by Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California, last week began 40 days of deliberation aimed at producing a wage settlement with unions representing 600,000 postal workers. About the same time the wage settlement is announced in December, the postal governors are expected to say when postal rates will rise and by how much.

Taking Rent Off the Top

Welfare recipients may soon receive less in cash and more in kind if a new Reagan Administration proposal is adopted. Its stated aim is to prevent the poor from being evicted from their homes by allowing local governments to withhold part of a family's welfare check and to pay it directly to the landlord. At the same time the new rule could save the cities money.

Mayor Koch has been urging this move since 1981. In New York, he says, it will discourage landlords from abandoning buildings because they are unable to collect their rent. It should therefore save on the cost of putting the homeless into temporary shelters, and make it easier for welfare clients to find apartments.

Some landlords are reluctant to take in the poor, the Mayor told Federal officials, "because of their fear that they will not be paid, and that fear is based on fact and not simply paranoia." City officials said the Administration's proposals could save the city \$15 million a year: \$6 million in the use of welfare hotels and \$9 million it would otherwise spend to forestall evictions.

But some welfare advocacy groups were critical. Jane Benedict, chairman of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, argued that it could make "serfs of welfare tenants" by giving "the first bite" of welfare checks to the landlords.

Henry A. Freedman, director of the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, also opposed the change on grounds that welfare recipients ought to be free to make their own decisions about spending, even if they sometimes make mistakes.

Big Banks Told To Tighten Up

Still smarting from criticism that followed the recent \$4.5 billion Government bailout of the Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company, Federal officials have prescribed an unusual dose of preventive regulation for two of the nation's largest banks. The Comptroller of the Currency ordered the Bank of America and the First National Bank of Chicago to shore up their financial underpinnings and tighten their credit policies, officials at the two banks disclosed last week.

Banking industry analysts said that with the move, the Government appeared to be launching a new strategy of stepping in early when a bank showed symptoms of potential weakness. Both banks reported loan losses in the quarter-billion-dollar range for the third quarter.

Bank of America, the nation's largest, appeared to be in no serious difficulty. The bank said it was already in compliance with the Comptroller's orders on credit standards and that by the end of 1984 its primary capital — the proportion of shareholder equity in the bank — would be just one-half percentage point shy of the 6 percent the Comptroller ordered it to have by 1986.

The picture was not so good at First Chicago, the country's eighth largest bank, which was ordered to raise its primary capital, from 5 percent to 6 percent. While The Bank of America turned an overall third-quarter profit of \$81 million despite its loan losses, First Chicago had an overall loss of \$71.8 million.

Apparently concerned that the institution might be subject to the kind of big-depositor run that almost sent Continental Illinois under, the Comptroller ordered the bank to maintain a "contingency plan to meet unusual or unexpected liquidity needs."

First Chicago's loan losses also attracted the attention of the Securities and Exchange Commission. The S.E.C. is investigating the accounting methods the bank used in the loan write-offs and checking to see whether bank officials engaged in any illegal insider trading before the bad news was made public.

Carlyle C. Douglas,
Caroline Rand Harris
and Michael Wright

Confirmation Vote Is 2 Years Off but Fighting Is Already Fierce

California Justices Await Verdict — on Themselves

By WALLACE TURNER

SAN FRANCISCO — With Election Day 1984 only 10 days past, five of California's most powerful public figures are looking ahead to November 1986. They have been for some time. The five are members of the California Supreme Court, and they face elections then. Organized opposition to some of them took shape earlier this year. So did fund-raising efforts by their defenders.

Controversy is a constant on the seven-member court's docket. Twice in the last 12 months it has stirred conservative anger with rulings that knocked initiative measures off the ballot. One was a reapportionment proposal backed by most Republicans, who wanted to replace the 1982 Democratic redrawing of boundaries for legislative and Congressional districts. The court ruled that the state's constitution allowed only one reapportionment every 10 years, and the Democrats' bill had used up the quota for the 1980's.

On Aug. 27, the court tossed out another initiative that, if approved, would have directed the Legislature to petition Congress to call a Constitutional Convention on an amendment to require an balanced Federal budget.

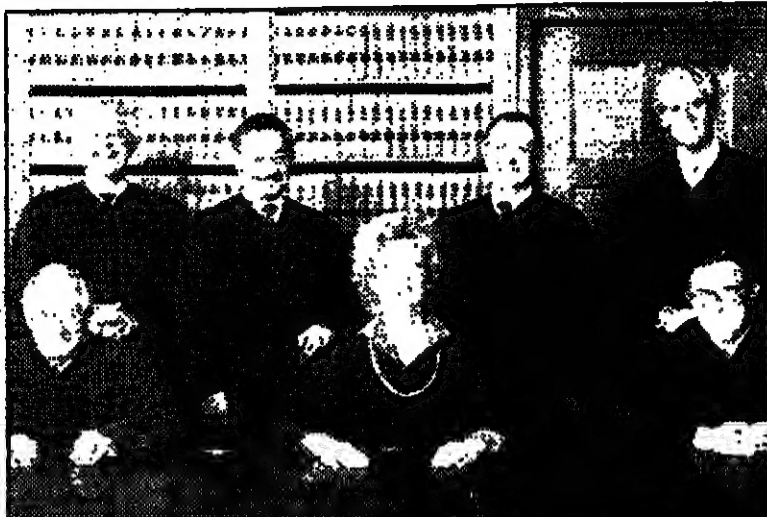
The court's reasoning was that only the Legislature is empowered to petition Congress; therefore, it would be improper to allow Californians to consider withholding legislators' salaries until the petition was filed, as the initiative provided.

(The court was not negative about one voter initiative. Two weeks ago, it won its campaign to change the rules under which it has operated in reviewing cases when Proposition 52 was approved by 50 percent of the voters. Under the new law, the court can select only specific elements of cases to review; members of the court had maintained the change would appreciably lighten their work load.)

"I don't think there is any question but that we'll see a real donnybrook in 1986," said John Van de Kamp, the state attorney general. Mr.

Van de Kamp, a Democrat, has taken no position on the reconfirmation fights.

Gov. George Deukmejian, a Republican who isn't one for the sidelines, has said he will vote against Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird, up for re-confirmation in 1986 and around whom much controversy has always swirled. In an earlier four-year tour as attorney general, the Governor sparred constantly with the Chief Justice. Since her appointment in 1977, Chief Justice Bird has been the target of five recall campaigns, none of



The California Supreme Court, with Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird at center.

which has succeeded in getting on the ballot.

In California, supreme court justices are appointed by the Governor when vacancies on the bench occur and confirmed immediately by a review board that includes the state attorney general and senior state judges; the appointments are put the voters the next time the governorship is up. Such "confirmation elections" once attracted little attention. That changed in 1978, when Chief Justice Bird received only 52 percent approval. Confirmation this time is far from assured. Her tenure has coincided with a rising tide of criticism of the court. It generally turns on judicial activism, with the critics arguing that

the court tends to favor criminal case defendants and civil case plaintiffs.

There have been few outliers about criminal law decisions matching those of the late 1970's, despite rulings this year ordering new trials in capital punishment cases and expanding protection against unwarranted search to include motor homes and handbags. Still, a movement called "Crime Victims for Court Reform," dedicated to opposing confirmation of liberal justices, has been formed.

Guidance for the group comes from Anthony Rackauech Jr., an assistant district attorney in Orange County, and Bill Roberts. Mr. Roberts, a Republican campaign strategist, managed the Governor's 1982 campaign until the final weeks, when he resigned after a discussion with Mr. Deukmejian.

The discussion centered on Mr. Roberts' having told reporters that a certain number of voters would reject the Democratic nominee, Mayor

Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, because he is black. Mike Carrington, a staff assistant to State Senator H.L. Richardson, a Republican who wants the Chief Justice removed, said, "We already have our bumper strip: 'Jerry Brown gave us the Bird — Let's give her back.'"

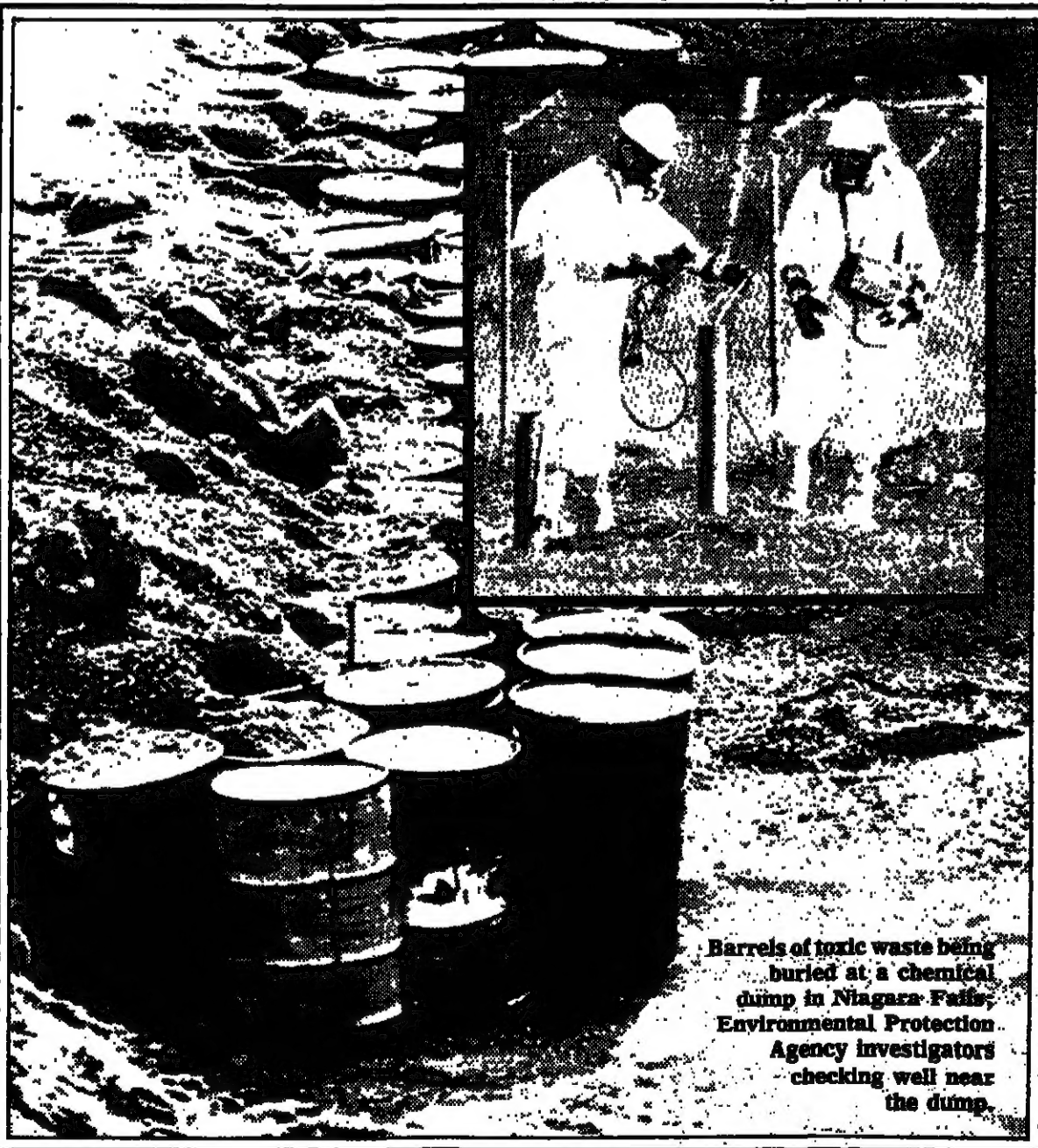
An opposing group, "The Committee to Conserve the Court," will support the incumbents. "The same crowd is at it again," Martin Huff, former executive officer of the California Franchise Tax Board and treasurer of the committee, said of the court's critics. "This group is grimly determined to capture the court system."

Philip Johnson, a criminal law specialist at the University of California at Berkeley, said he sees the court as beginning "to recognize some limits on judicial activism, which is a switch from the wild, pro-trial lawyer stance they have been accused of taking." Mr. Johnson said he has found the "decisions seem to be erratic, interrupted by something the prosecution wins, even when it didn't deserve to win."

Robert Thompson, a former appellate court judge who teaches at the University of Southern California law school, said he finds the quality and consistency of the court's decisions improving. But, he adds, "at the same time the court works itself into a workload hole by expanding its area of decisions." He added: "We tend to talk about judicial activism in terms of individual cases, and not to consider the proposition that an activist court is going to almost paralyze itself."

Toxic Wastes Go From One Leaky Dump to Another

On the Move but Not Yet on the Wane



Barrels of toxic waste being buried at a chemical dump in Niagara Falls. Environmental Protection Agency investigators checking well near the dump.

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

WASHINGTON — According to current estimates by the Environmental Protection Agency, some 264 million metric tons of liquid and solid hazardous waste are produced from the manufacture and use of chemicals, heavy metals and other dangerous substances each year. That is more than a ton for every man, woman and child in the United States.

This is on top of untold billions of gallons more that have already been dumped and abandoned over the years. But increasingly it appears that the only current solution to the problem is simply to keep the waste on the move, in a kind of chemical equivalent to the system once proposed for shuffling MX missiles around.

That is in part because, after a halting start, the agency is starting to move aggressively to clean up abandoned toxic waste sites. In many cases the wastes from the old dumps are moved to active sites that could become a threat to the health of nearby residents. A recent report by an agency investigator, for example, found that a landfill in Niagara Falls, N.Y., that has received wastes from Love Canal and other abandoned sites containing cancer-causing chemicals, may

itself be leaking.

There is dispute within the E.P.A. over whether the site threatens nearby residents. But agency officials acknowledge that dangerous wastes from many inactive sites are being dug up and then shipped to sites that are themselves inadequate.

Closing Landfills

The Cecos International site in Niagara Falls is one of the largest in the country receiving materials from abandoned hazardous waste dumps. The agency is also looking at reports that some of the other big dumps to which so-called Superfund wastes are transferred are leaking or otherwise deficient. They include the Chemical Waste Management facility in Emelle, Ala., the SCA Services landfill in Model City, N.Y., and the BKK landfill in West Covina, Calif.

Last weekend, the Ohio E.P.A. closed another big Cecos landfill in Williamsburg, Ohio, after receiving reports that water was being pumped from the site into a tributary of a creek that supplied drinking water to the community. The New York Public Interest Research Group recently published the results of a survey in which it found hundreds of large toxic waste sites in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, Illinois and Cali-

fornia that were leaking or otherwise constituted environmental hazards.

Critics of current toxic waste policies, including William Sanjour, a policy analyst in the Environmental Protection Agency's solid waste office, say that moving wastes from an old leaking site to a new leaking site doesn't make much sense. "It solves a political problem because the Government is doing something to give people the impression it is taking action to deal with these wastes," Mr. Sanjour said. "But it is not removing the threat to health." He contends that the only benefit from the system goes to the big waste disposal companies paid to dig up the waste and bury it elsewhere.

Lee M. Thomas, the agency's assistant administrator for waste programs, says that one reason wastes cleaned up from one site are shipped to a site known to be deficient is that there simply is not the capacity to dispose of them elsewhere. He also contends that merely because a site is leaking does not necessarily mean that dumping wastes in the site would pose an environmental or health hazard.

Seeking Alternatives

Mr. Thomas adds that he has recently issued more stringent rules for dumps receiving wastes under the Superfund program for cleaning up inactive sites. He also acknowledges that throwing wastes into landfills is an inadequate long-range solution. Alternatives will have to be found, and industry is starting to face up to the problem, he said.

William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the E.P.A., said in a telephone interview that "we are running out of hazardous waste sites" and that this lack of capacity "is forcing us to look for ways of keeping wastes on site or treating it on site." One hopeful sign, according to the E.P.A. chief, is that industries that create hazardous waste are increasingly seeking to avoid shipping the wastes

off their own property because of the enormous financial liabilities they could face if the wastes go to disposal sites that affect the health of private citizens.

Mr. Ruckelshaus notes that disposing of wastes in a landfill is the cheapest way of dealing with them. But it is only cheap in the short run if they have to be dug up and moved again, asserts Richard Fortuna, executive director of the Hazardous Waste Treatment Council, an association of companies that use technology to deal with wastes. Mr. Fortuna listed a number of alternatives to land disposal, including high-temperature incineration, recycling of wastes, chemically or physically stabilizing wastes before disposal, and detoxification. The technology for these alternative means of waste handling is advancing rapidly, Mr. Fortuna says.

On Nov. 9, President Reagan signed amendments to the 1976 waste disposal law that would tighten safeguards, regulate the disposal of even small amounts of toxic waste, discourage landfills and encourage the use of alternative, innovative methods of dealing with waste. Environmental groups said the amendments would close gaping loopholes that now permit unsafe disposal of dangerous chemicals. Meanwhile, the sea of toxic waste continues to rise.

The World

Words as Tools in the Diplomatic Game

Détente, at least the word, was in the air last week as Soviet and American leaders sounded each other out on the possibilities of resuming talks on arms control and other subjects. Answering questions by NBC News, the Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, called for a return to the era of détente, saying it could open the way to "broad possibilities of cooperation," if Washington's stated desire for solutions to arms problems "do not remain just words."

Asatoly F. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador in Washington for 22 years, had trouble last week with one word. He knew what an umbrella did against rain but professed bafflement at the use of the umbrella as an instrument of diplomacy.

At the United Nations in September, the President broached the idea of "umbrella" talks to cover the whole range of arms issues and got a mainly negative reaction from Moscow, which halted most of the talking on arms control last year. But lately the Kremlin has been making inquiries. Encouraged by the show of interest, Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said, "The entire idea has not been fleshed out to the Soviets. We would like the opportunity to flesh it out." Some fleshing out apparently remained to be done within the Administration, where sharp differences on arms policy persisted between Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger.

Despite strains over Nicaragua and other issues, there was hope for a meeting early next year between Mr. Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko. Mr. Shultz said Mr. Chernenko had made "a positive statement."

Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gromyko may find themselves stuck over another word. Differences over the meaning of "security" have been holding up the first agreement on cultural exchanges in five years. In the Russian lexicon, "security" meant that the United States would prevent Soviet stars in the performing arts from being "lured" into defecting while visiting here. For the United States, Soviet performers would merely be guarded from physical harm and their performances protected against disruption.

Chile Rounds Up 2,000 'Suspects'

Chile's jails were unable to take in all of President Augusto Pinochet's presumed enemies during his first years in power in the 1970's, so he turned soccer stadiums into holding pens. Last week, a Santiago soccer stadium was again pressed into service unrelated to sports. Starting before 5 A.M., military troops and policemen rounded up at least 2,000 slum dwellers and trucked them to San Eugenio Stadium.

Several hundred were singled out as criminal troublemakers and Marxist subversives and sent into exile to bleak country villages. The rest were released. Some of those freed said soldiers had pointed machine guns at the crowd while an officer wearing a ski mask supervised part of the interrogation.

After months of demonstrations protesting Chile's depressed economic conditions and 11 years of authoritarian rule, President Pinochet declared a state of siege on Nov. 6, banning distribution of opposition and church-sponsored political news and meetings. A Spanish priest who headed the Chilean church's human rights office was prevented from returning from a visit to Rome.

In a pastoral letter to be read in all churches today, the Archbishop of Santiago, Juan Francisco Fresno Larraín, said Friday would be a day of silent prayer and fasting in protest against "subversive" and "repressive" violence.

Lebanon Makes Tough Demands

Lebanon, which at a minimum would like to get rid of Israeli troops on its soil, seemed to feel last week it had nothing to lose in thinking big.

When Lebanese officials sat down with the Israelis in the heavily protected Lebanese town of Naqurah, they called for Lebanese Army control of all areas Israel now occupies and up to \$10 billion in reparations for damages inflicted by Israel during its 1982 invasion.

Israel dismissed the security demand as a "nonstarter" and the bid for reparations as outside the conference agenda. Israeli officials saw the tough position as designed for internal consumption and renewed optimism that Lebanon would bargain over what was likely to be a long haul. Lebanon had started the week in a tough mood, delaying the talks three days until Israel agreed to release four Shiite Muslim leaders in the spirit suspected of being behind attacks on Israeli troops.

As the talks began, Lebanon said it planned to move troops to the edge of the occupied area to show it was ready to assume responsibility. But Israel made some cutting remarks about the army's inability to mount the simplest security operation, much less take over the entire south and protect Israel's borders from terrorism. Israel wants to exercise some control through its ally, the largely Christian Southern Lebanese Army, as well as through its own forces. There was some convergence on one point — a bigger role for the United Nations Interim Force.

Why Svetlana Went Home

Svetlana Alliluyeva, the daughter of Joseph Stalin, left the Soviet Union for the West 17 years ago, lured by "blind idealization of the so-called free world." But "I was not free there a single day," she told her first — and presumably last — news conference since her return to Moscow last month.

The meeting in Moscow last week was arranged at her request, the Foreign Ministry said, after she was intensively sought out by Western correspondents. Her dissatisfaction with her two years in Britain and 15 years in the United States was expressed in largely political terms in her prepared statement. She described herself as "a favorite trained dog" of the C.I.A. and said she had been "used" by the hands of businessmen, lawyers and politicians who turned the name of my father, my own name and my life into sensational goods.

In response to questions, Miss Alliluyeva played down politics, saying the final decision to go home was prompted by the illness of her son and desire to renew contact with a daughter. She returned with her other daughter, American-born Olga, whom she once described as "American as apple pie." "For men, politics is indeed important," she said, "but for women, the main interest is the family."

Third Marcos Foe Is a Victim

The wheels of justice have begun to turn against those who conspired to kill the opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino last year, but this has not discouraged others from using assassination as a political weapon in the Philippines.

Last week, Mayor Cesar Climaco of Zamboanga on Mindanao Island, another outspoken critic of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, was shot in the back of the head with a .45 caliber pistol by a man who got away. He was the second opponent of Mr. Marcos to be assassinated in the past month. No charges have been officially laid against the President for the killing of Mr. Aquino, his principal opponent, but opposition forces insist he had a role in it. Last week, they asserted the Government also bore at least "moral responsibility" for the two latest killings. Last month, Alexander Orcullo, an opposition politician in Mindanao, was shot by an unknown assailant.

Mr. Marcos praised Mr. Climaco and denounced his killing. "A major blow has again been struck against the tranquility and decency of our public life," he said, adding that the nation had not yet recovered from "grief and outrage" over the killing of Mr. Aquino.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Gmiger

Verbatim: Between East and West

"The politicians, who once stated that war was too important to be left to the generals, now act as though peace were too complex to be left to themselves."

"The decision to destroy the brilliant accomplishments of seven millennia of poets and architects, musicians and scholars, theologians and artists, to destroy all God's handiwork, to place in jeopardy the lives of almost five billion people — that decision lies essentially in the hands of two men, one in Washington, the other in Moscow."

Some Say Benefits May Come From Dispute With Nicaragua

Military strength in three key countries

Nicaragua

Total armed forces: 61,800
Army: 60,000 (including 12,000 reserves)
Navy: 300
Air Force: 1,500

Weaponry

12 tanks
20 armored cars and personnel carriers
60 large guns and howitzers
multiple rocket launchers
10 mortars
antiaircraft guns
surface-to-air missiles
number unknown

Navy:
14 coastal patrol craft
1 landing craft

Air Force:
12 combat aircraft
7 transport aircraft
4 helicopters
150 guns
On order: Soviet MIG-21 fighters; 100 French air-to-surface missiles

*does not include unconfirmed arms shipments since July 1, 1984
*estimate

Honduras

Total armed forces: 17,200
(plus 4,500 paramilitary)
Army: 15,500
Air Force: 1,200
National police (paramilitary): 4,500
U.S. forces based in Honduras: 1,400

Weaponry

16 tanks
12 reconnaissance vehicles

26 guns and howitzers
30 mortars

Navy:
9 patrol craft

Air Force:
30 combat aircraft, including 12 advanced fighters
14 transport aircraft
17 helicopters (including 10 on loan)
On order: 4 Brazilian fighters

El Salvador Government

Total armed forces: 41,650 (being increased)
Army: 39,000
Navy: 300
Air Force: 2,350
Paramilitary: 9,500
National Police: 4,500
Treasury Police: 2,500
Order (civil defense force): 70,000

Weaponry

12 tanks
46 armored cars and personnel carriers
42 howitzers
72 mortars

1 rocket launcher
2 antiaircraft guns

Navy:
6 patrol boats

Air Force:
41 combat aircraft
14 transport aircraft
9 armed helicopters
Yugoslav antiaircraft guns
On order: 9 U.S. helicopters

El Salvador opposition

Total armed force: 10,000*
reserves: 8,000 (claimed)

Sources: The International Institute for Strategic Studies; U.S. intelligence sources

How the Big MIG Scare Flared Up and Died Down

By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON — President Reagan keeps saying arms control tops the foreign policy agenda for his second term. But a sudden squall in Central America has disrupted his timetable. The crisis mood since his re-election has carried echoes of the early Reagan days when former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. warned of a Marxist menace in Nicaragua and urged "going to the source" in Cuba to quench the fire. The recent leak that the Russians might be delivering MIG fighters to Nicaragua has grown into a flood of threats and charges. It is as if Election Day had broken a dam, venting official furies pent up during the campaign and fueling suspended policy disputes.

For an Administration bent on exploring possibilities for arms talks and other improvements with Moscow, the delivery of high-performance Soviet jet fighters to Nicaragua would have put Moscow and Washington on a collision course. For months, the Administration had made clear that such a Soviet move would be a provocative act affecting American security interests and inviting American military action. "The thing was a lot bigger than Nicaragua," commented a veteran diplomat. "People were asking, 'What are the Soviets up to?'"

To the relief and the embarrassment of most American policy makers, intelligence flights over Nicaragua's Pacific port of Corinto detected no MIG's unloaded from the Soviet freighter Bakuriani. But the supercharged atmosphere had its own momentum. Advocates of hard-line

pressures against Nicaragua's Sandinista Government set out such possibilities as economic sanctions to cut off trade, withdrawal of the American Ambassador, showy military maneuvers in Honduras (indeed, seven small new maneuvers did start after the election), a naval quarantine to block Soviet and East European arms shipments, and renewal of American financial aid to Nicaraguan rebels, halted by Congress last July. "No doubt military scenarios were being rolled out somewhere," conceded a Presidential aide, "but not in the Situation Room with the President, which is when it gets serious."

After the MIG story was set to rest, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger shifted more generally to the "tremendously increased flow of offensive weapons to Nicaragua" which had "the effect of intimidating their neighbors." In follow-up briefings at the Pentagon, White House, and State Department, officials said the arms flow had been especially heavy since a visit to Moscow last summer of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

Most worrisome, officials said, were the delivery of some surface-to-air missiles and heavily armed MI-24 gunship helicopters, the kind used effectively against rebels in Afghanistan. A White House spokesman compared the arms buildup in Nicaragua to Cuban developments in the early 1960s. "One Cuba is a big problem," said Mr. Weinberger, "and a second Cuba would be twice that kind of problem."

Nicaragua reacted to the tough American talk by declaring a nationwide military alert. Top Sandinista officials used the crisis to test their mobilization plans and to show Washington that if the American forces ever invaded, they would have to contend with an armed population as well as an Army. Miguel d'Escoto Brockman, the Foreign Minister, scoffed at Pentagon charges that Nicaragua had plans to invade its neighbors since such action would surely provoke American retaliation. "We couldn't get away with it even if we wanted to," he said. "The results would be immediate and disastrous."

Useful Fallout

Some American officials blamed the press for whipping up "hysteria." They contended the string of almost daily policy pronouncements had not been orchestrated. "I wish we had not set up this MIG straw-man to be knocked down because there weren't any MIG's on that ship," said a national security official. Others said that the Administration was sincerely worried that the ship was carrying MIGs, but regretted that the scare, as it turned out, had been blown out of proportion.

Possible benefits were seen, however. Some officials hoped broad publicity about Soviet arms shipments would make the next Congress more pliant about resuming funds for the Nicaraguan rebels. Others said American toughness showed the Sandinistas that Nicaragua's Nov. 4 election, boycotted by most of the important opposition parties, had not increased their legitimacy in American eyes.

A third view was that psychological pressures would help erode popular support for the Sandinistas and add burdens to Nicaragua's already strained economy. Some Pentagon, intelligence and national security officials used the episode to seek an edge in the internal debate over whether the Administration should accept the Sandinista Government.

Attending a meeting of the Organization of American States in Brazil, he discounted the likelihood of an American naval quarantine and accepted a Nicaraguan proposal for another round of bilateral talks in the Mexican city of Manzanillo probably this week. "It will give us a chance to take their temperature," said an American official. "We can see if they're more serious now than they were before."

By week's end, the crisis atmosphere was cooling, although on the Nicaraguan side, Deputy Foreign Minister Nora Astorga warned the O.A.S. that the United States was looking for "political excuses" to intervene militarily. A White House official, alluding to persistent speculation about such intervention, asserted, "Nothing dramatic is going to happen now." But other officials predicted that crises with Nicaragua would bubble up periodically, feeding the Administration's internal struggle over policy.

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda Improve Trade, Though Distrust Persists

East Africans Move to Rebuild Ties

By SHEILA RULE

NAIROBI, Kenya — Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are moving cautiously toward reconstructing their shattered East African Community. After nearly six years of sometimes acrimonious negotiations, they reached agreement in May on dividing the assets and liabilities of the community, which collapsed under the weight of economic and ideological rivalries in 1977. The agreement followed the reopening of the Tanzania-Kenya border, closed that year by Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere. A delegation of Kenyan businessmen recently visited Tanzania to promote trade. Since the border was reopened, a Kenyan official said, the growth rate in trade between Kenya and Uganda has tripled.

The recent moves reflect growing understanding, economists say, that cooperation and freer movement of goods and people are vital to the three economies. After the border closing, Kenya lost an estimated \$100 million a year in trade with Tanzania, while the loss to its poorer and less efficient partner was \$20 million. "We must realize that we must work together because we cannot make progress apart from each other," said a Kenyan as he haggled over the price of a wood-carving in Nairobi's busy city market.

Despite the recent encouraging signs, progress has been slow. "There was political will to resolve the outstanding assets issue," a Nairobi-based international economist said. "When the agreement was signed, there was great anticipation that regional cooperation would somehow blossom. But it is really moving much slower than anyone had expected."

In the years immediately after it was founded in 1967, the community was hailed as a model of regional coordination. The three nations shared a rail network and ports, postal and telephone services and an international airline. But as it did



clashes of personality and ideology.

The excesses of Idi Amin of Uganda was one point of division. Another was Mr. Nyerere's attacks on capitalist Kenya as a man-eat-man society. Kenya replied that Tanzania was looking for a scapegoat for the failures of its experiment in socialism. Some students of Africa said it was shortsighted to try to develop regional cooperation when the nations were in their infancy.

In recent years, relations have been hampered by other factors, including internal strains on each government, that tended to breed tighter controls. The slow economic rebound of Uganda, one of the world's poorest countries, has been

to suffer unless the Government of President Milton Obote can re-establish order. Kenya is facing food shortages made worse by severe drought and the pressure of too many people competing for too little arable land. Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, shaken by a failed coup attempt two years ago, continues to try to consolidate his power. In Tanzania, Mr. Nyerere's socialist policies have been blamed for a dramatic economic decline. Opponents demanding his ouster hijacked an Air Tanzania plane in 1982. A small-scale army mutiny was suppressed last year.

While Mr. Nyerere has shown a willingness to get together again with his former economic partners, he appears unlikely to move away from his socialist doctrines despite the apparently growing discontent. Last week he was elected chairman of the Organization of African Unity at its meeting in Addis Ababa and said Africa should halt payments on its \$150 billion foreign debt to force creditors to negotiate a more just world economic order.

Kenya has a strong private sector and a much more solid currency than its neighbors, leading their officials to fear that Kenya will flood their markets with Kenyan goods. Tanzania, where factories are running at 30 percent of capacity because of capital shortages, appears reluctant to risk such competition. For example, joint operation of tourism with Kenya would probably be a losing proposition, some Tanzanians believe. Tourist lodging, car rentals and meals are cost markedly more in Tanzania, they note, so visitors would be likely to spend most of their time and foreign exchange in Kenya.

"The economy of Tanzania is very, very bad at the moment," said a recently returned Kenyan visitor. With the opening of the border, he noted, Tanzanian smugglers have stepped up the flow of illegal goods to obtain Kenyan currency. The illegal trade has resulted in shortages and increased prices for some products in Tanzania. "Nyerere may be afraid that opening his country to compe-

Arab workers in the Gaza Strip boarding a truck for trip to jobs in Israel.



West Bank Arabs Squeezed by 2 Economic Forces

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

NABLUS, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — Trapped between Israel's 1,000 percent inflation and the shrinking job market in Jordan and the Persian Gulf, the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are facing a serious economic squeeze. Israeli officials are increasingly concerned that widespread unemployment could politicize middle-class Arabs who up to now have tended to abjure political activism.

Almost half the labor force in the occupied territories — more than 100,000 people — piles into cars and small buses every morning and drives into Israel to work, primarily at manual labor. Thousands of others with families in the West Bank and Gaza have white-collar jobs in various Arab countries, sending home several hundred million dollars a year.

"The West Bank and Gaza had become suppliers of labor to two very different sources and are now being caught between them," said Gad Gilbar, a professor of Middle East economics at the University of Haifa. "The first is Jordan and the Arab oil-producing states, where economic development and the demand for foreign labor has slowed down, and the second is Israel, with its high rate of inflation and potential for large-scale unemployment. We are now seeing the first signs of open unemployment in Israel. If this continues," Professor Gilbar added, "the labor force in the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be greatly affected, since thousands of them work in Israel, and for many households this is their only source of income."

The West Bank and Gaza are unusual economic entities. Individually, many of their citizens have prospered during 17 years of Israeli rule but communally, they have been economically deprived. Industrial development in the territories has been deliberately stunted by the Government, writes Meron Benvenisti in his classic study of

Israeli policy in the West Bank, so as to increase dependence on Israeli markets, prevent competition with Israeli producers and, most important, to head off the establishment of an economic base that might one day serve as the framework for a Palestinian state.

This approach to the territories was workable as long as the employment opportunities provided by Israel, Jordan and the Arab oil-producing states absorbed the labor that could not be sustained by local agriculture and small-scale commerce. Personal prosperity and the steady rise in the standard of living helped take the edge off the occupation for middle-class Palestinians and accounted, in part, for the relatively docile manner in which they accepted Israeli rule.

Cautious Customers

"If it can be said that the Government can't afford a lot of unemployment in Israel, then it is even more true in the West Bank and Gaza," said the manager of West Bank operations for an Israeli banking chain. "This is not England or France, you know, where you have unemployment and people just live with it."

Adds Zafer el-Masri, head of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce: "If there is a lot of unemployment, then it won't just be students throwing stones. It will create a lot of opportunities for extremism."

Already there are signs of economic retrenchment. Land prices in Gaza are said to have fallen by one-third. College graduates, who found it difficult to find jobs in the best of times, say things have never been worse. Merchants report that their customers are being cautious. Most of their potential buyers earn their salaries in shekels, which have lost buying power in Israel's relentless inflation.

To protect themselves, Palestinians rush with their shekel paychecks to local money-changers to convert them into Jordanian dinars bearing the portrait of King Hussein. The dinar is legal tender in the West Bank.

Money-changers say that even a few Israelis have been exchanging shekels for dinars when American dollars are unavailable.

"People's purchasing power is declining, so sales are declining," says Hanna Nasser, Deputy Mayor of Bethlehem and owner of a small textile plant. "I have 14 looms that used to go three shifts a day. Now only four looms are operating for one shift. Last week, I put out the word that I needed a new driver at a salary of 120 dinars (\$310) a month. I got 83 applicants."

The economic predicament of the territories will undoubtedly be on the agenda when Yasir Arafat convenes the Palestine National Council in Amman this week. Brig. Gen. A. Beckenstein, the deputy Israeli coordinator for Government operations in the West Bank and Gaza, says his office is keeping a careful watch on the job situation so that large-scale unemployment can be quickly headed off with Israeli-financed public works projects.

Israel's new Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, has given Palestinians in Nablus permission for a project to start a local bank. He has also expressed approval for a plan by a group of American Jews and Arabs to invest in industry in the West Bank.

But these measures have met with harsh criticism from some Likud members of the National Unity Coalition, who say that in hard times all money should be channeled into Jewish projects. If the predicted economic downturn hits as hard as some experts predict, the Government will be faced with the difficult choice of either allowing Palestinians to develop their own economic infrastructure or taking state resources away from Jewish settlements to maintain employment in the Arab population.

"We know from the history of Iran, Turkey and South America," said Professor Gilbar, "that people become most revolutionary not when they are very poor but when they had economic prosperity and then one day it vanished."

Voter Apathy Grows

Party Heads Stay Aloof From Japan's Body Politic

By CLYDE HABERMAN

TOKYO — Every public opinion poll shows that Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is uncommonly popular, enjoying approval ratings as high as 58 percent. In Japanese politics, however, that does not mean much. Despite the widely held impression that he has been an effective national leader, Mr. Nakasone is intensely disliked within his conservative Liberal Democratic Party. Many of the party's members — it may well be a majority — view him as self-important and untrustworthy. When the professionals gathered in party caucuses this month, they cared not one bit about his broad appeal. Several worked out a plan to oust him as their leader and thus as Prime Minister.

Mr. Nakasone held on to win a second two-year term as party president, and last week he was preparing for a new parliamentary session. But the attempted coup by political professionals demonstrated what many Japanese already felt: at the highest level, politics in their country seems to have little to do with their own lives.

In few industrial democracies are important national issues ignored by politicians as assiduously as in Japan. When the Liberal Democrats, who have held power since 1955, figure out who will run the Government and various ministries, they pay little attention to individual ability and virtually none to ideology. What matters is personal allegiances and old feuds between party elders. It has long been this way, but signs suggest that Japanese are feeling their lack of involvement more keenly these days. Kyoichi Saito, a 55-year-old farmer from Akita in northern Japan, summarized the feeling in a letter to the newspaper Asahi. "Whereas Presidential candidates in the United States make their views and policies clear through debates during the election campaign, the Prime Minister of Japan is elected behind closed doors," he wrote. "What did this selection of party president mean to the public? It was as if we were watching a farce."

Apathy appears to have reached new depths. Elections last December for the House of Representatives, produced the lowest postwar turnout, 68 percent. Some analysts blamed the cold weather. That, however, did not explain why the previous June — hardly a chilly month — elections for the House of Councilors produced a record low turnout for that chamber as well, 57 percent. (The United States turnout on Nov. 6 was 52.9 percent.)

Ousting a Mayor

A recent newspaper survey showed no enthusiasm for any political group. The Liberal Democrats' performance was most frequently described as "tolerable," far from a rave. Moreover, 64 percent doubted that a national victory by an opposition party — unlikely as that may be — would change their lives. Shaking this apathy, which will be a major test for the ruling conservatives. There is speculation that they may call another election in 1985 to recoup seats lost last year. Usually, the lower the turnout, the worse they fare.

Especially disaffected are big-city dwellers, whose votes are worth a fraction of a rural resident's. Periodically, judges determine that elections are unconstitutional because of severe apportionment discrepancies, as the Tokyo High Court did a month ago. But the court, like its predecessors in similar cases, declined to invalidate last December's balloting. The chief beneficiary was the ruling party, which draws great strength from the disproportionately powerful farm vote.

Here and there, urban voters are beginning to stir, in hopes of getting national politicians to listen. Last week, in the small city of Zushi, 30 miles southwest of Tokyo, Mayor Torayoshi Mishima was defeated by opponents of a housing complex for United States Navy families. Mr. Nakasone's Government wants to build it, and Mr. Mishima simply went along. But many Zushi residents — most of them housewives citing environmental concerns — campaigned to recall the Mayor, forcing him finally to call a special election. The winner, Kiichiro Tomino, pledged to stop the planned housing. Whether he can do so may be less important than the evidence that a grassroots movement can resist the Government at the polls.

Still, the situation in Zushi was the exception, which may reinforce the rule that a few Liberal Democratic elders, meeting in back rooms, determine what happens. Japan is, at heart, a conservative country. Conservatives of various party labels hold roughly 75 percent of the 763 seats in Parliament. The Liberal Democrats have been adept at shifting policies as needed to anticipate problems and to accommodate as many people as possible.

Besides, some people argue, why change? "The political apathy today is based on the fact that we are doing well," said a Liberal Democratic member of Parliament.

African Group Recognized Polisario Last Week and Morocco Quit in Protest

Saharan Rebels Win a Diplomatic Victory



Polisario guerrillas in the Western Sahara.

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

MADRID — In the empty expanse and pounding heat of the Western Sahara, the Polisario Front, an army of leftist rebels, has been losing ground in its fight for independence from Morocco. But although unable to win on the battlefield, the front scored an important diplomatic victory last week, jolting the complex power calculations in North Africa. The Organization of African Unity, meeting in Ethiopia, recognized and seated the Polisario's proclaimed Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Morocco promptly withdrew from membership in the 21-year-old regional organization, an unprecedented action. In support of Morocco, Zaire walked out temporarily.

The dispute centered on a former Spanish colony in the Western Sahara that was set loose by Madrid in 1976. Administration of the Nevada-sized state was divided at first between Morocco and Mauritania, pending a final political settlement. Mauritania, under pressure from Polisario attacks, began pulling out in 1979, and Morocco took over. In 1981, Morocco agreed to hold an African-sponsored referendum among the region's estimated

150,000 inhabitants. The vote has not taken place, and although Moroccan officials said last week that the agreement still stands, a referendum appears even more distant now.

The dispute is partly traceable to longstanding rivalry between Morocco and Algeria for dominance in the Maghreb, the Arabic-speaking region of northern Africa stretching from Mauritania to Libya. The Polisario uses Algerian territory as a staging area and has been largely financed and armed by Algeria and Libya.

Morocco's pro-Western King Hassan II challenged that lineup in August when he signed a secretly negotiated cooperation treaty with Libya's Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, who was expected to end Libyan aid to the rebels.

After nine years of desert fighting and living in dismal Algerian camps, Polisario's forces, as estimated by Western intelligence, have shrunk from more than 9,000 to about 3,500 today. They reportedly include soldiers recruited from neighboring Saharan countries such as Mali and Mauritania. Facing them are an estimated 80,000 Moroccan troops, whose morale and will to pursue what they consider a national cause appear high.

Using a simple strategy of building massive walls of sand across the desert, the Moroccans have steadily advanced, bringing nearly one-third of the territory and almost all the population inside their ramparts. Since 1981, the Polisario has been unable to successfully breach the advancing walls.

In its latest attempt, on Oct. 13, a Polisario armored column of 1,000 soldiers attacked south of Zag, a Moroccan town near the Algerian border. They managed to get briefly inside the wall but were repulsed by Moroccan forces that poured into the easily pinpointed area. Casualties, which the Polisario can ill afford, were reportedly high.

Recognition by the Organization of African Unity, if not a new lease on life, was at least a morale booster that will help to keep the Polisario fighting. The rebels are armed with Soviet-made SAM-6 antiaircraft missiles, tanks and artillery, and they keep getting new weapons. In the October attack, Morocco captured nine advanced Soviet troop carriers of a type previously unseen in the war.

The United States and France have supplied King Hassan with prodigious amounts of hardware, including jet fighters and radar to monitor the wall. But although much of the equipment has been financed by Saudi Arabia, fighting the rebels has severely strained the Moroccan economy.

A reinvigorated Polisario is not likely to draw the superpowers into the conflict, diplomats say, but tensions are rising in the Maghreb. Since last year, Tunisia and Mauritania have been allied in a treaty with Algeria, loosely pitting them against the new Moroccan-Libyan axis.

How formal recognition will be received by the people of the Western Sahara is still unclear. Morocco has cultivated their loyalty by investing more than \$500 million to build schools, housing and other projects, thus stimulating an economic boom that has doubled the area's population since 1976. The Polisario has been unable to launch a major terrorist attack in recent years. The huge Bu Craa phosphate mine, which was forced to close by Polisario attacks early in the war, has returned to full operation.

Mohammed Abdelaziz, the Polisario leader, said the Africans voted in Addis Ababa to satisfy justice. But many black African diplomats said they also voted to be done with an Arab issue that had tied up the unity organization's last two annual conferences with walkouts and protests. Turning to more pragmatic concerns last week, the organization called for additional aid to combat widespread drought and starvation in Africa.

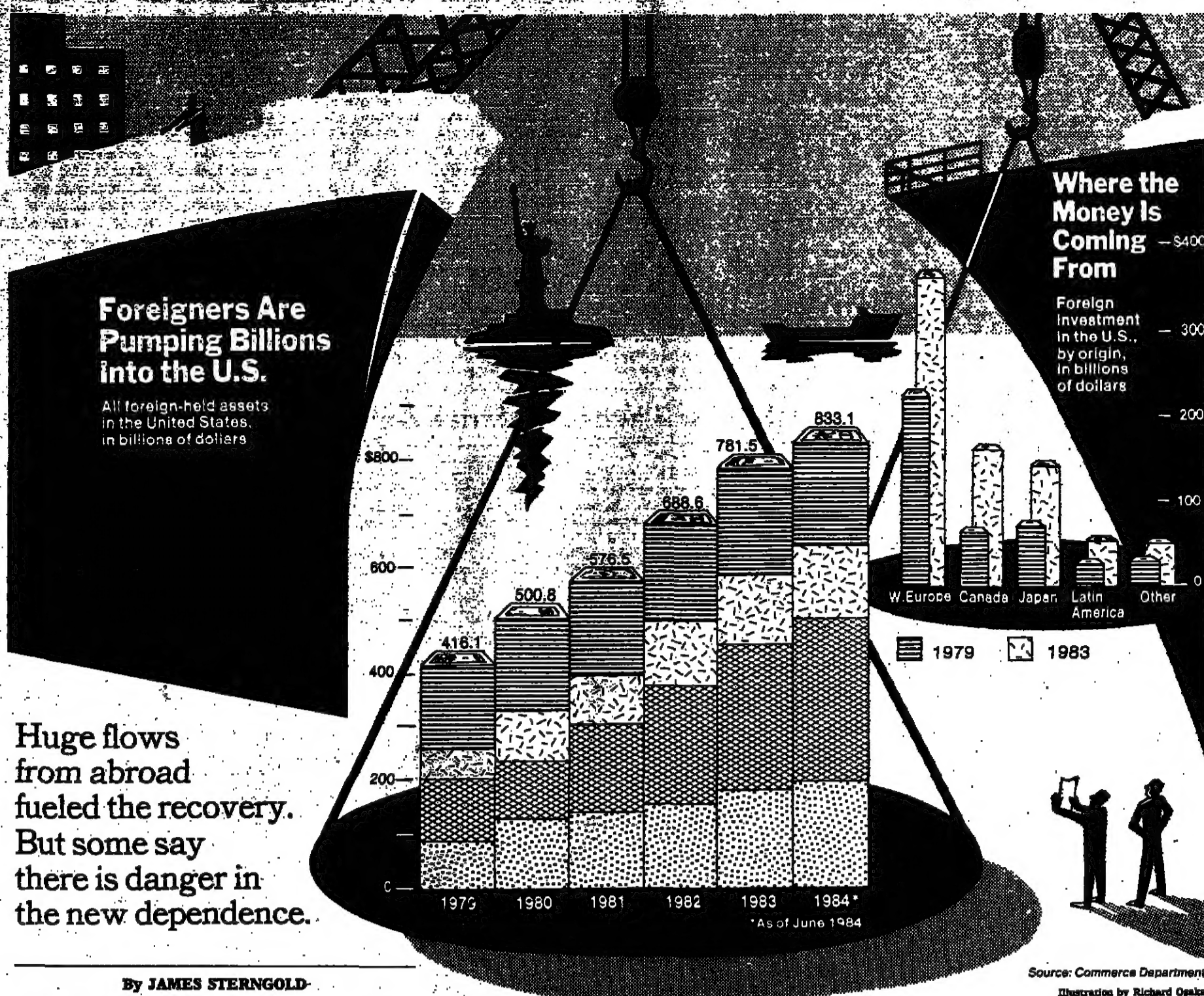
The door was left open for a reconciliation that could restore Moroccan participation in the Organization of African Unity. The regulations do not recognize withdrawal until after one year. When the King's senior adviser, Reda Guedira, bade his colleagues farewell last week, he said Morocco was departing only "until wiser days."



Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone (foreground) at Liberal Democratic Party congress earlier this month.

A Nation Hooked on Foreign Funds

Economy



Huge flows from abroad fueled the recovery. But some say there is danger in the new dependence.

By JAMES STERNGOLD

THE Reagan Administration's economic program is often given credit for the brilliant recovery of the past two years. But little noticed, a secret weapon has helped to generate the rebound: a flood of foreign money that none of the forecasters, including the President's, anticipated.

Billions of francs, pounds, pesos and yen have flowed into the United States with the force of a riptide, doubling foreign investment in the past five years to a monumental \$833.1 billion.

Many familiar American landmarks and companies now have foreign owners. Britain's Midland Bank, this year, took full control of California's Crocker National Bank. Japan's Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank bought half of the plant National Steel Corporation and Nestlé of Switzerland acquired the Carrington Company for a hefty \$3 billion. The Celanese building in New York's Rockefeller Center was bought earlier by the pension fund of a foreign oil company. Even Washington's Watergate complex is owned by a British pension fund.

That's only the tip of the iceberg. Hundreds of billions of dollars have been invested more quietly in securities or deposited in banks, with Western Europe providing nearly half the funds; Latin America, about a fifth. The dollar's soaring value has been a gauge on this capital pipeline.

The foreign financing boom has brought significant benefits — among them declining inflation and an easier time financing the Federal Government's huge budget deficit without snuffing out the recovery or sending interest rates to the sky.

"We were able to put in place more efficient equipment, plants and structures than we could have just on our own savings," said Roger Brimmer, chief domestic economist for Data Resources Inc., an economic consulting concern. According to his analysis, foreigners now fund a remarkable 26 percent of corporate capital spending in this country, compared with 15.7 percent in 1980.

Corporate treasurers routinely raise financing abroad today. "When we pick up the phone to do funding now it could be to anywhere, to deal in Swiss franc swaps, mark borrowings, Eurodollars," commented Donald Griffith, chief financial officer of the First Interstate Bancorporation, a California bank holding company.

In part, the ease of borrowing abroad reflects the great attraction of investing in this country. Not only have yields here been higher than elsewhere, but the United

States is regarded as more stable politically than many other countries. Also, the European and Japanese governments have been eager to invest in U.S. government securities.

But there is increasing concern about the secondary effects of the inflow. What economists fear is that the United States has become hooked on a fickle source of capital. If that source dries up or merely slows down, the benefits could abruptly end, or even be reversed.

Such worries have heightened in recent weeks as America's relatively high interest rates have fallen and as the economy's soaring growth rate has slowed well below a 3 percent annual rate.

Perhaps more troublesome is the fact that the situation is unprecedented; therefore, experience offers little guidance. The capital inflow is "awesomely different from anything experienced in the past," as former Federal Reserve chairman Arthur F. Burns put it.

The huge inflow reverses the nation's traditional role. Particularly since World War II, the United States has economically nurtured many other countries, offering finance, aid and direction. Now the nation has to wrestle with its own sudden dependence — an issue as new and challenging for policy makers of the 80's as spiraling inflation was for policy makers a decade earlier.

This turnaround has shaken the thinking of many economists. "What was different from what was expected is that instead of the budget deficit crowding out local investment, it pushed up the value of the dollar and brought in foreign funds," said Martin S. Feldstein, former chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors and now a Harvard University professor. "We underestimated the openness of the economy in the U.S.," he conceded. Mr. Feldstein, like other mainstream economists, describes the situation as unsustainable and potentially dangerous.

Richard N. Cooper, a Harvard professor and former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs in the Carter Administration, said: "We don't have complete control of our own fate, we are intertwined with the rest of the world. We're just seeing a new manifestation of that."

And Jeffrey D. Hanna, director of international bond research at Salomon Brothers, the investment bank, added: "We've left ourselves more exposed." He explained: "We have come to rely so much on that source of funds that, obviously, if conditions change then we could find that our economic policies may have to respond to their movements."

Perhaps the worst scenario would be a reversal of the inflow of foreign funds, economists say. No one is sure how much of the money is "hot," and could vanish in a hurry. First, investment bankers point out, the money must have some place else to go and that presupposes a better, or safer, return outside the United States — which is not an immediate prospect.

But three-quarters of the foreign funds invested in the United States are in relatively liquid investments, such as bank deposits, government securities, stocks or bonds. Some of that money could be moved out of the country with no more effort than a single phone call.

"I don't think that we're fueled by hot money," commented Roy Smith, a partner in the investment bank Goldman, Sachs & Company and until recently head of its London operations. "But it's certainly warm."

A sudden run out of the dollar, however, is not the major concern. Even a slowdown in the pace of foreign investment could force dislocations. "If foreigners collectively decided to lend us, say, \$70 billion instead of \$100 billion a year," said Mr. Cooper, "just that smaller inflow could cause a dollar crisis."

David C. Batten, a managing director of the First Boston Corporation, an investment bank, said that while much of the foreign investment tends to be relatively long-term, the billions of dollars of return it earns annually in interest and dividends is "hot." "It's that money at the margin that you have to wonder about," Mr. Batten commented. Of course, he pointed out, Americans themselves could start investing significantly more abroad, which would have the same effect.

He noted that there is a growing appetite among American investors for foreign securities, due to a belief

that the dollar's value may have finally peaked. First Boston is lead manager of the first offering in this country of a bond issue denominated in the European Currency Unit, a basket of European currencies. Mr. Batten said that the issue already looked like a success because of the demand in the country for foreign currency securities.

Should foreign markets become more attractive — without any real progress in narrowing the Federal budget deficit here — that would likely put upward pressure on United States interest rates. This raises the prospect that, at least for a time, the dollar could tumble and interest rates rise at the same time to try and bid the funds back.

The Treasury, in fact, has already started to sweeten its offerings to foreigners. In July, it dropped the 30 percent withholding tax on interest paid to foreign investors. Also, foreigners prefer buying securities anonymously, and are willing to pay a premium for the privilege. Thus, in October, the Treasury introduced its first special issue for foreigners that allows anonymous purchase, thus bending its long-standing opposition to such holdings, since they can make tax evasion easier. A similar offering for foreigners was announced last week.

The broadest measure of the trend in United States capital flows, and the sea change they have undergone, is the balance of payments on current account. The indicator includes the net trade balance in merchandise and services, investment income and unilateral transfers. The United States' current account has generally been near balance, but it swung violently to a record deficit last year of \$41.6 billion.

That is expected to mushroom this year to \$110 billion and some estimates put it at \$150 billion in 1985. The largest component of this is the merchandise trade deficit, which is expected to widen to \$130 billion this year. Because of the way the current account is calculated, a current account deficit implies there has been a roughly equal-sized inflow of foreign capital to finance it.

This has radically altered the country's international investment position. Since 1917, the United States has been a net lender to the world; that is, it had more invested abroad than was invested here. The surplus peaked in 1982, when Americans had \$149.5 billion more invested or lent abroad than foreigners had invested in this country.

But that is changing. As early as February, the Federal Reserve chairman, Paul A. Volcker, warned: "The largest and richest economy in the world is on the verge of becoming a net debtor internationally, and would soon become the largest," which he called "unsustainable."

"In just two years," said C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics, "we've frittered away a creditor position built up over 65 years." Data Resources projects that the United States will owe the world a net \$357 billion at the end of 1987.

Such projections are brandished menacingly by some, who warn of dire results from this dependence. In one speech, Mr. Volcker referred to the country as a "hostage" to its foreign creditors.

Many economists, though, say that the net international investment figures are riddled with accounting errors. And they point to the international investment position as more symbol than substance. The eddies and currents of capital flows allow dollars to wash through banks in circles that can inflate the sums. And some invest-

If the inflow were to reverse or even slow, then interest rates and inflation could begin to soar.

ments made years ago are still valued at unrealistically low levels. Some of the inflow just represents American funds deposited abroad, then reinvested back in this country. Much of the investment listed as coming from Britain and Switzerland actually originates in Latin America or other unsettled regions and is just funneled through those European countries, investment bankers say.

The huge net inflow shown for the United States on the accounts is partly the result of a drastic reduction in foreign loans by American banks in wake of the world debt crisis. New net borrowings by the developing countries plunged to \$22.6 billion last year from \$70.5 billion in 1981, according to the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Some of the growth of investment here reflects changes in the laws abroad. Britain, for instance, has eased rules on foreign investment by its institutions, allowing large sums to move into American real estate. The guidelines on foreign investment by Japanese institutions have been loosened, too. And the path has been cleared for American companies to raise greater amounts in overseas markets.

"The lowering of the barriers in the financial markets created pools of capital deep enough for American companies to swim in," said Mr. Smith of Goldman, Sachs. "Our companies found they could go to another beach where it was less crowded."

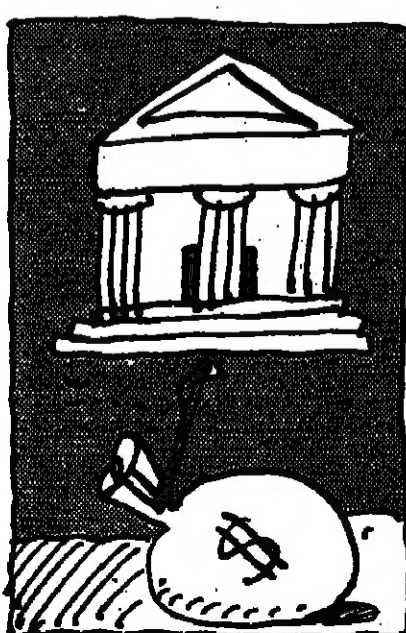
WEEK IN BUSINESS

U.S. Gets Tough With 2 Big Banks

The Government's unprecedented move to force the First National Bank of Chicago and Bank of America, parents of two of the nation's biggest banks, to shore up their foundations, reflects increasing worries that fiercer competition will lead to more failed banks. The move requires the banks to improve liquidity by increasing their capital base, and to toughen their credit policies. The Comptroller of the Currency was particularly hard on First Chicago, which reported a \$71.8 million loss for the quarter after charging off \$278 million in bad loans. First Chicago's main competitor, Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust, collapsed earlier this year, mainly because of bad loans and an eroded capital base.

Beyond the threat that the Comptroller can remove the banks' senior officers was the signal that Federal regulators would keep a closer watch on the big banks and would try to step in earlier to prevent trouble.

The recovery continued to slow markedly, and even the Administration appeared worried. Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan predicted growth of 4 percent next year, below earlier estimates. Some economists



Smart Goldenberg

ber, but analysts said it would have risen slightly if not for a strike against General Motors and a drop in coal production. Retail sales fell a tenth of a percentage point in October, the third drop in five months. Factory use fell slightly, to 81.8 per-

Pabst Brewing received nearly identical \$63 million buyout offers from Paul Kalmanovitch, a West Coast brewer, and the G. Heileman Brewing Company. Pabst has been a takeover target for years, and has rebuffed a series of bids, including previous offers from Heileman and Mr. Kalmanovitch. The latest battle for Pabst, which reported a loss in the last quarter, has turned bitter, with charges of subterfuge on both sides.

Jake Butcher, the Tennesseean who built a banking empire, was charged with bank fraud and conspiracy in connection with the failure of two of those banks. Two of Mr. Butcher's associates also were charged; all have proclaimed their innocence. The indictments said Mr. Butcher diverted bank funds for his personal use and made fraudulent loans to companies without disclosing his interest in them. The Government said that of the 16 bank failures in Tennessee in the past two years, 11 were Butcher banks and the others had substantial interests in Butcher banks.

Stocks continued to tumble, bringing their losses to eight sessions in a row and reflecting investor unease

Bond prices were mixed, falling sharply as a new Treasury issue was absorbed and rising on expectation of a cut in the discount rate. A \$2.7 billion increase in the money supply was within expectations and had little effect on the markets.

Walt Disney Productions lost \$64 million in its fourth quarter because of a record \$166 million writedown of movies and other properties. The charge reflected the company's belief that some movies already released and others in production would not be as successful as had earlier been expected. The loss was the latest in a series of troubles at Disney, where a bitter but failed takeover battle and management shake-ups have kept the company in turmoil.

A modified flat tax that would abolish most deductions appears to be favored by planners. But a study to be sent to the White House on tax revision will cover other options as well. And President Reagan's "marching orders" to his advisers remain "no tax increase, and cut spending."

Chrysler will spend about \$10 billion in the next five years on new

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED NOVEMBER 16, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
IBM	4,711,300	121%	- 1%
Am Exp	4,080,100	34%	- 1%
AT&T	4,005,300	18%	- 1%
Exxon	3,898,200	43%	- 1%
Unocal	3,798,200	41%	+ 1%
ITT Co	3,532,100	26	- 2%
MerLyn	3,347,300	28	- 1%
Kmart	3,191,800	33%	- 1%
Goody	3,114,500	24%	- 1%
Cit Data	3,035,600	35%	- 1%
Hewlett	2,886,400	33%	- 1%
Chrysler	2,809,800	27%	- 2%
Mobil	2,787,900	28%	- 1%
Diam S	2,551,700	18%	- 1%
Phil Pet	2,542,600	43%	+ 1%

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
629	1,375	2,254	76	82
1,295	702	2,254	180	32

VOLUME

Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date
364,022,990	20,570,133,563	417,124,890
19,060,748,135		

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Prev.
28.12	27.88	28.12	27.88

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	188.3	184.1	184.1	-4.02
20 Transp	139.6	134.6	134.6	-4.80
40 Util	73.6	72.6	72.6	-0.71
40 Financial	18.3	17.7	17.7	-0.51
500 Stocks	167.8	164.0	164.1	-3.50

Dow Jones

30 Indust	1223.7	1186.7	1187.9	-31.03
20 Transp	534.5	513.6	516.2	-16.21
15 Util	146.4	142.9	143.7	-2.00
65 Comb	485.7	470.4	471.6	-12.10

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED NOV. 16, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
TIE	1,528,500	7%	- 1%
Wrath	814,300	17%	- 1%
DomeP	770,000	1-13/16	- 3/16%
KeyPh	739,500	2%	- 1
PrentH	698,300	71%	- 1%
WangB	572,700	27	- 1%
AM Int	517,200	2%	- 1%
EchoS	387,100	10%	- 1%
Verbit	373,100	5%	- 1%
AutoSw	364,000	47%	+ 8%

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
229	520	908	28	81
384	357	901	45	49

WEEK IN BUSINESS

The New York Times

Founded in 1857

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE D. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A.M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOWSE, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, Sr. V.P., Circulation
LANCE R. PRIMIS, Sr. V.P., Advertising
J.A. BIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations
HOWARD BISHOP, V.P., Employee Relations
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

Taxes Up, Down and Simpler

As the Reagan Administration turns from politics to governing and looks again at the large Federal deficits, it needs to reconcile, or choose among, three distinct lines of thought about taxes. Most economists and many business leaders believe that taxes have to be raised as part of any deficit reduction. Most Americans and many politicians want the tax system simplified and made more fair. And President Reagan wants to press for a tax reform that does not violate his promise to raise taxes only as a last resort.

These approaches are not automatically compatible. Taxes can be raised without being made more fair. They can be made more fair with or without increasing the revenues collected. The next tax law can raise the tax base — the types and amounts of income taxed — and still reduce tax rates. The population as a whole, or any segment, can end up paying more, less or just about the same.

The advocates of reform generally believe they can succeed against entrenched interests only if they take care that no one's tax bill will be significantly altered in the process. The advocates of higher taxes want above all to reduce the deficit and some find reform attractive because it would disguise an increase by creating the appearance of reduction.

Ideally, the nation would benefit from both an increase and a reform. And reform could pay for some of the increase. Politically, however, the effort to confuse these objectives would strengthen resistance to any change. The situation cries out for leadership and candor.

Most observers now expect the President to offer his own variation of the modified "flat tax," the reform in greatest favor in Congress. The "Fair Tax" sponsored by two Democrats, Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri, would reduce the number of

tax brackets from 16 to 3 and reduce the maximum tax rate from 50 to 30 percent. It would retain most deductions, but taxpayers with large income would find their dollar value sharply reduced.

The "FAST" tax sponsored by two Republicans, Senator Robert Kasten of Wisconsin and Representative Jack Kemp of New York, would tax everyone at the same rate — 25 percent. But most deductions would disappear and a package of exemptions would virtually eliminate taxes for families close to the poverty line.

Despite important differences, the two plans pursue similar objectives by similar means. Both would reduce maximum tax rates so as to remove incentives for avoiding taxes. Both would also broaden the tax base by reducing the value of deductions. Either would be simpler and fairer than the present system.

But the Congressional reformers have been careful to avoid increases in the total revenues generated by their changes. Indeed, both plans were designed to preserve the current distribution of tax burdens, in the belief that a simplification that hides an increase would make too many enemies.

No such distinctions, however, are heard from the Administration these days. The President or at least some of his advisers are thus creating the impression that they would like a coating of reform around a tax increase. That is probably why Treasury officials have begun to talk about broadening the tax base without disclosing the level to which they would then reduce tax rates.

The urge to disguise an increase with lesser rates is understandable but ill-advised. It would not long fool the public but could taint reform and ultimately defeat it. The President's first task is to estimate how much new revenue he wants from the tax system, along with spending cuts, to reduce the deficits. Tax simplification can then be debated on the merits, and passed with rates that are dropped to whatever level sound budgeting requires.

The Nightsticks of South Africa

Those were warm, welcome words from President Reagan to South Africa's new Nobel laureate a few weeks ago: "All Americans join me," he wrote to Bishop Desmond Tutu, "in recognizing your labors in seeking to promote non-violent change away from apartheid, toward a form of government based on the consent of the governed and toward a society that offers equal rights and opportunities to all its citizens, without regard to race."

In South Africa, simply uttering those ideas can be a criminal act. And that is the disturbing reality the Administration ignores in its passive response to the white regime's police-state crackdown on dissenters of all races, the worst in years. Those being arrested are not violent revolutionary conspirators but advocates of nonviolent change, the disciples of Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

One massive raid of black townships near Johannesburg was assisted by 7,000 troops, the first use of the army against home-front dissenters. More routinely, the police are invading the homes and offices of blacks suspected of organizing protest strikes. Scores have been taken for having urged a boycott of August's elections of two powerless legislatures "representing" 600,000 Indians and 2.8 million persons of mixed blood.

Six leaders of that boycott sought safety in the British consulate in Durban in September. Their larger purpose had been to prevent destruction of their United Democratic Front, a multiracial coalition urging nonviolent change. When their lawyers

appealed for American asylum, Pretoria warned against harboring "criminals" and Washington timidly looked away. Three of the leaders were arrested as soon as they left the British consulate.

Here then is the dilemma of all Americans. We profess a special abhorrence for South Africa's racism but want to avoid stirring civil strife. The Administration goes a step further: It thinks warm ties to that Government — "constructive engagement" — will achieve more good in the end. But it has nothing to show inside South Africa for four years of such engagement.

Nor has it anything to show diplomatically. One early fruit of engagement was to have been the end of South Africa's illegal occupation of neighboring Namibia. The great prize of a regional bargain — independence for Namibia and the departure of Cuban troops from Angola — continues to elude Washington's grasp.

South Africa's rulers are consummate realists, bent on preserving a system that gives one white tribe — 2.4 million Afrikaners — permanent dominion over other minorities and 22 million blacks. The Afrikaners' power is enshrined in a constitution that divides blacks into "citizens" of impoverished tribal "homelands," comprising 13 percent of South Africa's territory. One can acknowledge the dilemmas of trying to alter that system by outside pressure. But "constructive engagement" seems only to be reinforcing it.

Topics

Polls and Palls

Labor Force

The Census Bureau has developed people-counting to a fine art. As of 8 o'clock this morning, it calculates, there are 236,871,465 of us in the United States — 5,584 more than yesterday. But another fast-growing population group hasn't been counted at all: robots, and the bureau now proposes to do something about it.

There are, according to various estimates, between 7,500 and 13,000 in the United States. Whatever the number, it's expected to double in a few years. Most of them are natives, but more immigrants seek admission each year.

They all tend to be diligent, highly skilled workers, mostly in factory jobs as welders, painters, molders and the like. But they'd like to get into the service trades, too. Anyone who's been to an electronics trade show lately has seen R2D2-like creatures skidding around, beeping, blinking and delivering a sales pitch. Others are designed for private security. There are even models that will on command go to the refrigerator and fetch a beer.

Robots count, and it's only just, not to mention useful, that they be counted. Subject to approval by the statistical regulators at the Office of Management and Budget, the bureau will survey the annual American production of robots. Once we know how

many new robots are at work, then what? It's obvious: how many are not? Before long, we'll expect reports from Washington on robot unemployment.

Busters

Starting in 1936 there was "Gang-busters," the radio program that came on with roaring cars and blasting submachine guns — came on, that is, like gangbusters. The program faded but the idiom lingers on.

Now, since June, we have had "Ghostbusters," the movie about some amiable hustlers who exorcise mysterious spirits from much of Manhattan. Even people who didn't see the film have seen its logotype — a ghost, under a red circle crossed by the diagonal slash that says Stop. This time, it's the logotype that lingers on.

More than fingers: flourishes. It's turning out to be the most copied bit of iconography since we all learned how to V New York. The Imitations of Ghostbusters are coming on like gangbusters. The Presidential campaign brought Fritzbusters and Reagan Busters. Teen-age thugs in California who beat up vagrants who sleep under bridges pronounce themselves Trollbusters. Pan Am advertises vacation Pricebusters. New York City traffic agents have become

Gridlock-Busters and cigarette foes are Smokebusters.

Enough already. There comes a time in the history of any good idea when to copy it anymore is to run it into the ground. That time has arrived for this symbol. It's time for the final derivation: something like Busters Busters.

Absolute Minimum

Republican John Rowland caused something of a stir this month when, at age 27, he defeated Representative William Ratchford in Connecticut's 5th District. But as the final votes were counted, focus shifted to the contest for the state assembly seat from Waterbury that Mr. Rowland is vacating. Republican Gloria Bogen led Democrat Joan Hartley by 10 votes when the voting machines were tabulated. When the absentee ballots were counted, her margin narrowed to three.

An automatic recount the next day swung the victory to Mrs. Hartley and cut the margin even closer — two votes out of almost 10,000 cast, in a district that Mr. Rowland carried by 1,300 and President Reagan by twice as many. The outcome remains in doubt, with Mrs. Bogen challenging the count in court.

So much for coattails. A single vote can make a difference.

Letters

The NASA 'Carnival' Has Changed Our Lives

To the Editor:

"The Ultimate Junkie" (editorial, Nov. 9) helps perpetuate an unfortunate general misconception not only of the reason d'être, but also of the accomplishments of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

One of NASA's original Congressional mandates was the promotion of further uses of technology for the benefit of the American people. No government agency has ever better fulfilled a mandate. The benefits we enjoy from NASA-derived technology permeate the fabric of our daily lives. From food, medicine and clothing to construction, energy and pollution control, Americans are daily reaping the harvest whose seeds were sown by the space-

exploration programs of NASA. One million Americans today are employed by the \$3 billion commercial space-communications industry. More than two-thirds of all overseas communication is relayed via satellite, to say nothing of domestic satellite operations. All this is a result of NASA-pioneered technology.

More important to the millions of diabetics who will be freed from their restrictive life style is the programmable implantable-medication system derived from NASA technology. Moreover, automatic implantable defibrillators are being installed at a rate of 20 per month in patients who might otherwise die from ventricular fibrillation.

I wonder how these people would

answer your question "Is space just a carnival and NASA its Barker?"

And this is just the beginning. Medicines and procedures that can only be developed in space will prolong and enhance the quality of life on earth. They could not have been and will not be developed on "expendable unmanned rockets." (That is also just one of the answers to your question "And what would the space station do that unmanned space platforms won't do more reliably and cheaply?") It seems more appropriate than your rhetorical answer, "Nothing much."

Less dramatic, but of precedent-shattering importance, is NASA's commercialization of space. NASA is the first Government agency to begin to take the burden of operation off the back of the American taxpayer and to place it on the private sector.

If this is a carnival and NASA a Barker, then the show must go on. Head and shoulders, it is a better production than the usual bureaucratic three-ring circus.

BILL SCHNIRRING
New York, Nov. 9, 1984

The writer is publisher of NASA Tech Briefs, an official publication of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

What's a Heaven For?

To the Editor:

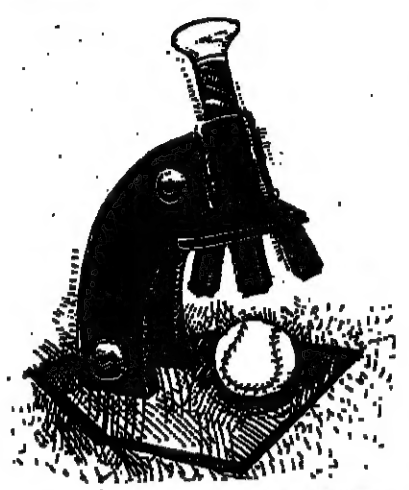
One of your ancestors must have advised Isabella against funding Columbus's expedition. "The Ultimate Junkie" appears to be yet another swipe at the manned space program.

True, NASA's offer of a place as passenger on a future space-shuttle flight to Senator Jake Garn seems heavy-handed, mostly because space travel is still exotic. However, that offer is no more or less proper than similar actions by other agencies, all of which are engaged in constant budgetary wars to maintain their funds.

While unmanned probes have their uses, I might remind you that there is enough space junk in orbit from unsuccessful unmanned launches to pay for the entire manned program.

If NASA officials seem obsessed with manned space flight, it is because they are aware that they are opening a frontier. The space shuttle and the proposed space station are orderly steps in this process. Of what use are frontiers if people don't go there?

LANE LEIFER
Roslyn, L.I., Nov. 9, 1984



Richard Del Russo

that cardinal rule for all hitters with two strikes on them: "Never trust the umpire!"

ROBERT SMITH
Lenox, Mass., Nov. 10, 1984

The writer is author of several baseball histories and editor of the Major League Baseball Players' Association's playing guides.

Searching for Truth in the Strike Zone

To the Editor:

Stephen Jay Gould is a scientist to admire. His ruminations on the unresolved particulars of evolutionary theory are beacons of scientific speculation. But his musings on the controversial third-strike call by the umpire Babe Pinelli, which gave Don Larsen a perfect game in the '56 World Series, are upsetting ("The Strike That Was Low and Outside," Op-Ed Nov. 10).

Professor Gould says, referring to the exact location of the strike zone, "Truth is a circumstance, not a spot." Is truth not an objective matter, independent of the observer's beliefs? Can truth depend on which inning we are in and how many men are out?

Mr. Gould, a self-confessed Yankee fan, has missed another important truth: that what we see as reality is colored by our circumstances and our predilections. I am sure he is aware of this truth. But he has fallen into the trap of believing something is so because he wishes it were so.

He thinks the cheer he let out in class may have been the ultimate cause of his failure to get into Harvard as an undergraduate. If so, it is clear his subsequent education at Antioch worked out to the ultimate benefit of Harvard, and of science — notwithstanding this lapse into thinking like a Yankee fan.

KARL RODMAN
New Paltz, N.Y., Nov. 10, 1984

To the Editor:

While I share Stephen Jay Gould's admiration for Babe Pinelli, that para-

A Democratic Nation Of Special Interests

To the Editor:

I should like to comment on one facet of the rhetoric of the recent Presidential campaign. This is the notion summed up in the phrase "special interest" groups. Although employed mostly by Republicans against Democrats, its usage, alas, has expanded to other forums.

In democratic America, the will of the majority, enacted as the law of the land, arises out of the give-and-take of political pressure and counter-pressure, as exerted by those on various sides of different issues. Thus, in effect, each group, by legitimately acting on its own behalf and ventilating its own concerns, by that very fact, serves the national purpose.

After all, why should the A.F.L.-C.I.O. be considered a "special interest" group, but not the Chamber of Commerce? Why should teachers' unions be considered "special interest" groups, but not the parents of parochial-school children? Why should women's groups be considered "special interest" groups, but not fundamentalist church organizations?

In democratic America, all groups with a political agenda are "special interest" groups — or none are.

STANLEY COHEN
Baltimore, Nov. 11, 1984

Everybody Was Wrong About Cookies and Prayers

To the Editor:

Let's do set the record straight. The case of the most misquoted law case of the election campaign. Your Nov. 4 editorial "Five Reasons to Vote for Mondale" referred to a prayer decision cited by President Reagan in correspondence with Norman Lear and in his first debate with Walter Mondale. You state that on both occasions Mr. Reagan said the court forbade voluntary prayer. You go on to say that the President was incorrect and that in the case referred to the court had upheld voluntary prayer.

Both are incorrect. The case is Stein v. Oshinsky, decided by the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit on July 7, 1963.

The case involved children in an elementary school in New York City (Whitestone, Queens) in grades from kindergarten to the sixth, where teachers instructing kindergarten classes permitted the organized recital of nondenominational prayer before taking cookies and milk. The principal ordered the teachers instructing those classes to stop such prayer recitals. He also ordered his teachers to stop the saying of such prayers in other classroom situations. The prayers involved were said out loud, in organized observance and under teacher supervision.

The issue for the court to decide

was whether it was within the power of the principal of the school to decide that such group prayer would not be permitted during school hours. The court held that the principal had the lawful power to stop such prayer. It analogized that just as a court would not have to allow interference with a trial or an argument any time that spectators or witnesses or jurors desired to indulge in collective oral prayer, a school does not deprive pupils of their right to pray by enjoining such prayer during school hours.

The court expressly said that its ruling does not cover cases where pupils have obligatory religious requirements, for example, that of a Moslem obligated to prostrate himself five times daily in the direction of Mecca, or the child whose beliefs forbade his partaking of milk and cookies without saying the blessings of his faith. The Court implied that in such cases school authorities would permit individual momentary observances.

The court also noted, although it did not decide, that in the context of the state-mandated education of young children, group voluntary prayer is illusory since any organized prayer activity requires the active participation of teachers.

SEYMOUR REICH
Chairman, National Civil Rights Committee, Anti-Defamation League
New York, Nov. 12, 1984

Papandreou's Position Is Safeguarding the Greek Boat

To the Editor:

Henry Kamm's analysis (Week in Review, Nov. 4) of Greek Prime Minister Papandreou's foreign policy was titled "Is Papandreou's Position Rocking the NATO Boat?" Much simpler would be the answer, "Papandreou's Position Is Safeguarding the Greek Boat." The support that this position is receiving in Greece may be appreciated if considered in the light of the historical experiences of the Greek people.

Since they won their independence from Turkish rule in the 1820's, they have been manipulated by various great powers as pawns on the global chessboard. In 1841, the British Minister to Athens, Sir Edmund Lyons, declared candidly: "A truly independent Greece is an absurdity. Greece can be either English or Russian, and since she must not be Russian, it is necessary that she be English."

Greek political leaders accepted this assumption of foreign control to such a degree that all Greek political parties in the 19th century were commonly characterized as being "English," "French" or "Russian." But submission to foreign tutelage did not save the country from a dreary succession of humiliations and disasters after the winning of nominal independence.

This pattern persisted in the 20th

century. During World War II, Greek political leaders looked to Churchill or Stalin, in contrast to Tito, who followed an independent, nonaligned policy. The outcome was Churchill's military intervention in Greece, the Battle of Athens and the ensuing rightist reign of terror.

Likewise, Greek political leaders scrambled to accept American arms and dollars under the Truman Doctrine, which purportedly was designed to save Greek democracy from Communism. But Washington policy makers made no move on behalf of Greek democracy when they were forewarned of the impending junta coup.

Nor did they oppose the junta dictatorship after it had been imposed on the Greek people. Instead the American Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, visited Athens in October 1970 and announced the resumption of arms shipment to the junta because of "the importance of the strategic location of Greece

as the southern anchor of NATO."

Laird overlooked the subversion of Greek democracy because of the requirements of what he considered American security interests. This is precisely the motivation behind Mr. Papandreou's foreign policy. The Prime Minister is repeatedly asked whether he is pro- or anti-American. He invariably replies that he is neither; that he is simply pro-Greek. After the experiences of the past century and a half, it is scarcely a mystery that this reply strikes a responsive chord in Greece.

The real mystery is how belated has been the emergence of a Greek leader who recognizes the bankruptcy of the traditional policy of dependence and subservience to foreign powers, and who proclaims that the time has come for Greeks, as well as Americans, to "stand tall."

L. S. STAVRIANOS
San Diego, Nov. 6, 1984

The writer is adjunct professor of history at the University of California.

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IN THE NATION | Tom Wicker

The MIG's Are Coming!

Those nonexistent MIG fighter planes the Reagan Administration proclaimed it wouldn't tolerate in Nicaragua suggest again that the Administration's real purpose is to overthrow the Sandinista regime. But the nonarrival of those nonexistent fighters also points the way out of the rising possibility that Mr. Reagan may stumble into a Nicaraguan quagmire.

After public disclosure that William Casey's C.I.A. cowboys were financing and directing a "covert" war against the Sandinistas, including the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, the bombing of its principal airport and the destruction of its main oil terminal, you had to wear rose-colored glasses over your blindfold to believe the President's explanation. He insisted he was only trying to "interdict" the flow of arms from Nicaragua to guerrillas in neighboring El Salvador.

The trouble was that the C.I.A., the Pentagon, the U.S. Embassy, numerous Congressional gunshoes and reporters from all over the world were never able to establish that there was a flow of arms from Nicaragua to El Salvador — at least one important enough to justify the money, trouble, political capital and reputation the Reagan Administration was expending to interdict it.

Now it's a supposed flow of "strategic arms" from the Soviet Union to Nicaragua that's cited to justify continued U.S. intervention in Nicaragua's affairs. If the MIG's had existed to be off-loaded at Corinto, they could have been destroyed (or "neutralized," as the C.I.A. would put it) by air attack; that threat was implicit in Administration warnings to both Moscow and Managua. And the reason given was that such advanced weapons would give Nicaragua the means to attack its

Turn this flap into diplomacy

neighbors or the Panama Canal.

This is a Central American version of "The Russians are coming!" The Sandinistas are Marxist and authoritarian but they aren't fools, which they'd have to be to attack neighbor states when they already have the U.S.-armed contras to fight, their economy is a wreck, and the Administration would be only too happy to defend said neighbors, let alone the canal — seizing the opportunity to knock off the Sandinistas in the bargain.

Besides, in view of the proxy war against Nicaragua that the Reagan Administration has been waging openly — aided and abetted for too long by Congress — the likelihood is that the Sandinistas actually want whatever weapons they're getting for defense against a stepped-up contra attack from Honduras or a U.S. invasion they obviously fear. That fear may be unfounded, but it makes more sense than the "fear" that Nicaragua might attack the Panama Canal.

Nevertheless, the Administration undoubtedly will substitute for the discredited arms-to-El Salvador thesis the lurid possibility that the next freighter from the Soviet Union, or the one after that, or some ship someday might be carrying "strategic weapons" for Nicaragua. That could be an effective argument with

which to bludgeon Congress into resuming support for the "contras," especially if escalated into charges that the Soviet Union is trying to establish a military base — even a missile base — in the U.S. "backyard."

It's a fraudulent argument nonetheless. A Nicaraguan attack on its neighbors would be madness; the Russians have shown no interest in establishing a Nicaraguan military base that clearly would precipitate a Soviet-U.S. showdown as dangerous as the Cuban missile crisis of 1962; and the "contras" have no means whatever of stopping — their attacks may even increase — Soviet weapons shipments to Nicaragua. Only the U.S. can stop such shipments; the contras can only keep trying to overthrow the Sandinistas, which is what they and the Administration's policy are designed to do.

A more thoughtful and less ideological Administration than Mr. Reagan's might seize the opportunity the MIG flap suggests. It could seek an agreement with the Sandinistas in which they would pledge to allow no Soviet base on their territory, to acquire no weapons beyond their self-defense needs, and to permit adequate verification measures in return for disbandment of the contra army and an end to the Reagan Administration's efforts to overthrow their Government.

That would remove any legitimate U.S. concerns, leave the Sandinistas to sink or swim on their own, and head off such ill-conceived steps as the one Secretary of State Shultz recently proposed — that the U.S. arm all Nicaragua's neighbors. What Central America needs is not more arms but less militarism — whether home-grown or exported from Washington; but don't hold your breath until this impervious Administration learns that elementary lesson. □

WASHINGTON | James Reston

A Calmer Capital

The post-election mood of President Reagan is one of deliberate calm. There is no gloating here, even among the most partisan architects of his victorious campaign. The emphasis now is on private consultation with both the Democratic leaders in Congress and the Soviet leaders in Moscow.

This does not mean any fundamental change in policy. President Reagan, like Konstantin Chernenko in the Kremlin, is talking about "strengthening the country's defense capability," but both are also talking more hopefully about renewing diplomatic negotiations on the reduction of tensions between their two countries.

What has changed here, at least for the time being, is the tone of the Administration's private and public language. Despite the recent awkward, and as it proved, inaccurate Administration "leak" about the shipment of advanced Soviet MIG fighter planes to Nicaragua, it is the moderate voices of the Administration that are now dominating the news.

Secretary of State Shultz did not react to Mr. Chernenko's call for an increase in Soviet military expenditures, knowing that the Pentagon was doing the same in its preparations for the coming U.S. military budget. Instead, Mr. Shultz went on television to welcome the Soviet leader's promise to Marvin Kalb of NBC News to work "vigorously" with the newly re-elected Reagan Administration on the control of nuclear weapons, and "the broad possibility for cooperation" in combating the hunger and pollution of the world.

Secretary Shultz, obviously feeling that U.S.-Soviet relations were too

A reappraisal of Reagan rhetoric and maybe policy is clearly under way

important to be left to the questions of American newspaper and television reporters, called for a return to the "private processes of diplomacy." Let's stop talking publicly about talking, Mr. Shultz seemed to be saying, but let's talk privately, set a date and get down to discussing the peace and order of the world.

There are other signs here that the Reagan Administration is thinking in a different way about the conduct of its foreign policy in a second term. For example, despite its alarming budget deficit, it is now talking privately not about cutting foreign aid, but increasing it by as much as \$8 billion in order to relieve the suffering and reduce the tensions of the world's poorest nations.

This has not yet been approved by the President and may never survive the budget debate in the new Congress. But even the fact that it is being seriously debated is a sign of a reappraisal of priorities within the Reagan Administration. □

In its first term, the Administration risked a break with its allies by opposing the use of U.S. technology to help build a Soviet gas pipeline to Western Europe. Now it is understood that the Secretary of State has approved talks with the Chernenko regime on the possibility of U.S. aid for the development of Soviet gas and oil.

Also, though it has attracted little public notice, the Reagan Administration has been quietly supporting improved relations between East and West Germany and has been encouraging more U.S. contacts with the Erich Honecker regime in Communist East Germany.

President Reagan indicated this change of attitude, if not of policy, in his conciliatory address to the United Nations General Assembly in September. But nobody here knew then whether this was merely an election tactic to soften his warrior image or an offer of reappraisal and reconciliation in a second term.

It is obviously too early to talk of reconciliation or compromise either with the Democrats or the Russians. But a reappraisal of the President's rhetoric and maybe even of his policies is clearly under way.

No doubt it will be opposed in the next two months by those in the Reagan Administration who regard his spectacular election victory as a mandate to carry on the anti-big government, anti-Communist policies of the first term.

But this is not the trend these days before Thanksgiving. The Administration seems grateful for a chance at a second term and even eager to talk more about cooperation and less about confrontation at home and abroad. □

Where America Fears To Tread

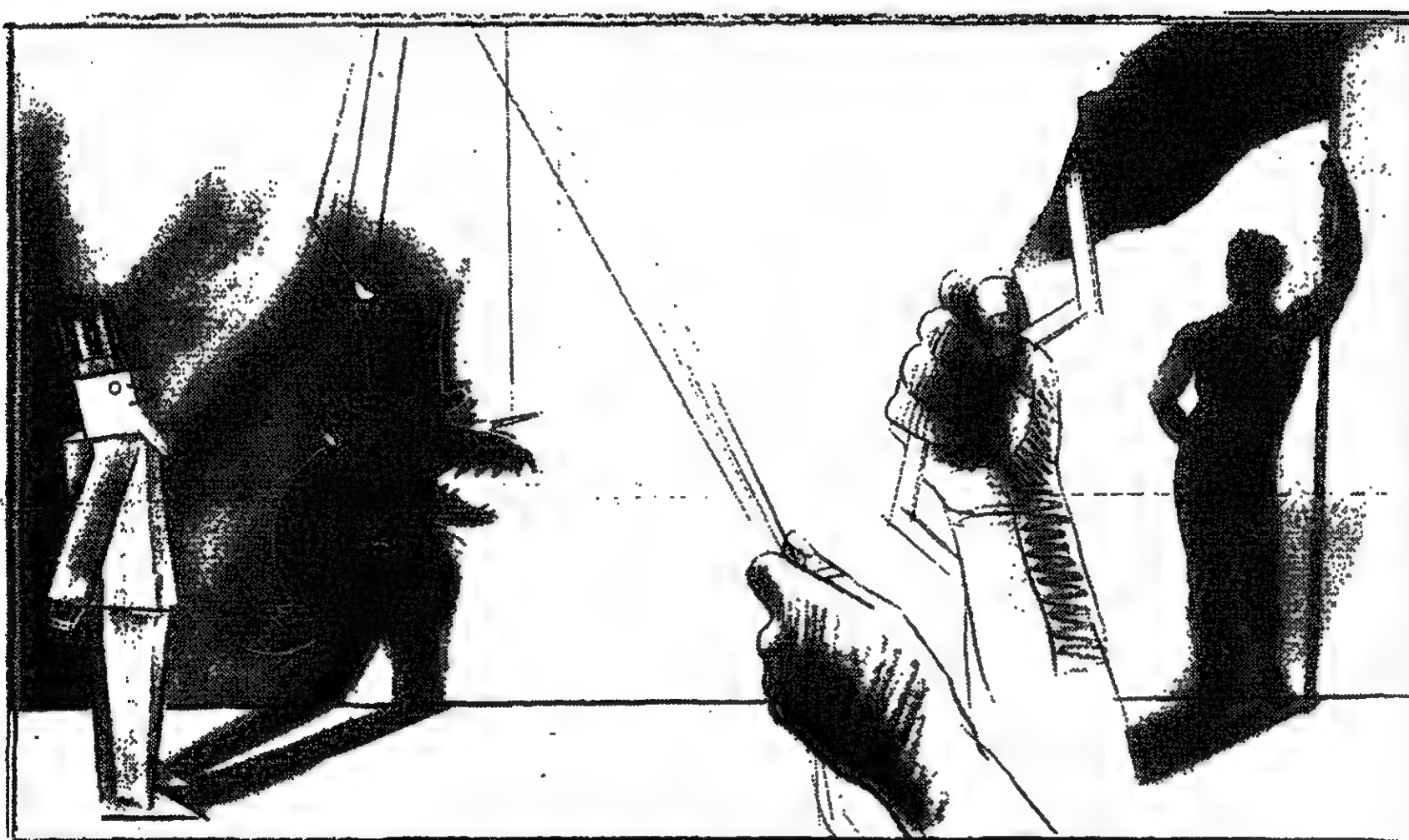
By George R. Urban

MUNICH, West Germany — It is a political curiosity of our time that the nation that invented Madison Avenue should be so poor in conveying the truth to Germans, Russians, Frenchmen and Bulgarians about the real nature of United States society, the values Americans cherish and the traditions that make its democracy into what it is.

Sitting among delegates at the United Nations or listening to the Dutch or Mexicans talking among themselves, one is struck by a puzzling phenomenon: the totalitarian world has succeeded in hijacking the language of international communications and defining the terms in which American society is described and often describes itself.

America, in this light, is rapacious, exploitative, imperialistic, vacuous and lacking compassion. The Communist world, usually described as "socialist," and much of the third world, too, are peace-loving, progressive, compassionate, egalitarian and fraternal. The first is mired in the sins of capitalism; the second stands for enlightenment and public virtue.

George R. Urban, editor and co-author of several books on East-West relations, directs Radio Free Europe.



Andrej Dzubinski

This vocabulary has come to stick, not because it reflects the truth but because democratic societies, the United States in particular, are essentially defensive polities that have no experience in articulating their values in ideological language. The United States has no overall design on the world. It is, therefore, a reluctant communicator of anything that might sound like an American "ideology."

That touch of subtle self-righteousness and civilized hypocrisy that has made the British and French into persuasive disseminators of the values of their civilization is utterly lacking in American political culture. Americans no longer believe that they have a "manifest destiny," much less that it might be in the public interest to propagate American premises with anything smacking of pride of

achievement or a sense of leadership. A country as imperfect as the United States, certain keepers of the puritanical conscience have been telling us, has nothing to teach the world.

The custodians of the United States image on the world's airwaves have, therefore, their work cut out for them. They have to represent the interest of a world power that is reluctant to be a world power, distrusts

any balance-of-power politics and has the notion of supranational morality so deeply embedded in its national psyche that it frequently cannot decide whether it is really involved, as it says it is, in some international conflict or is adjudicating the quarrels of less-enlightened people.

This referee complex is the despair of America's allies and makes the lives of those who have to represent

and interpret the United States abroad exceptionally difficult. Skeptical Europeans remark jokingly, but with only slight exaggeration, that America has never quite made up its mind whether it is a church or a country — that Americans enjoy their power sadly because, for a moral person, that is the only way that power can be enjoyed. They chide Americans for paying no heed to Machiavelli's warning that it is wiser for the Prince, if a choice has to be made, to be feared than to be loved.

These are, in many ways, engaging characteristics, for they depict a society that lacks any sense of braggadocio, has no taste for imperialism and does not even like to tell the world about its virtues — and when it does, tends to do it with so many reservations that it does it badly.

The ugly American, the uncultured American, do not, as stereotypes, correspond to anything in real life, but they are images of great power in the world because the reputation of Americans, like some superior French wines, does not travel well. It is marred by an exceptionally quarrelsome political class, a lack of self-confidence in dealing with foreigners, an iconoclastic intelligentsia and a media establishment whose ruling passion is the destruction of the reputation of America's elected leaders.

Have compassion, then, for the men and women who run the United States Information Agency, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. Soviet propaganda and disinformation are only one of their headaches; the inhibitions of American political culture are another and almost as powerful. Their mandates are accident-prone and the ground under their feet responds only too readily to the tremors of the political landscape. As so often happens in American political life, the domestic tail tends to wag the dog, and, with its body out of balance, the dog tends to whimper when it ought to bark. □

Bad Advice on Blacks

By Roger Wilkins

WASHINGTON — A lot of conventional ignorance has been spewed out in the wake of the Presidential election. The worst of it is couched as advice to the Democrats about what to do about blacks in framing an appeal that will woo back a white majority in 1988.

Gov. Richard D. Lamm of Colorado was on television the other night arguing that the Democrats had to stop catering to such "special interests" as blacks. And The Washington Post gave prominent space to a poll-taking professor from San Diego who argued that Walter F. Mondale's greatest mistake was in leading his campaign with concern for that same "special interest." He suggested that the Democrats ought to follow the polls and turn their backs on such issues as welfare and concern for blacks.

The first problem with that analysis is that if Mr. Mondale's campaign led with the interests of blacks, most blacks didn't notice it. His people splintered the Rev. Jesse Jackson's planks at the Democratic National Convention, they were slow to admit blacks into policy making posts and, while Mr. Mondale spoke generally about compassion and fairness, his lieutenants resisted the idea of hammering hard at the issue dearest to

special interests were the greedy rich the "hogs feeding at the trough," as David A. Stockman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, put it so inelegantly, but accurately. In those days, the phrase "special interests" was not meant to trash the legitimate aspirations of the poor.

There are also lots of problems with the proposed strategy. The first is that the nation as a whole has a special interest in the plight of the poor, whether white, native American, brown or black. The official estimate is that 35 million of our fellow citizens are poor. That is 15 percent of us. How they fare affects the quality of all our lives. For example, in his book, "Lives of the Poets," E. L. Doctorow describes brilliantly the psychic discomfort of well-off New Yorkers who rub shoulders daily with the angry and hopeless offspring of the black and brown poor. But in addition to crime and civic decay, the loss of the contributions that are never made because poverty has stunted the mental and physical development of the children of poverty is beyond measurement.

The second problem with the strategy is that it looks at the last election, not the next one. It is hard to believe that the next Republican candidate will be nearly as formidable as Ronald Reagan or that he will pander so much to racism as the President did when he met in Charlotte, N.C. and

away from America's most vulnerable people cedes the central question of the next Presidential election to the greedy. That question is: what kind of people and nation do we wish to become?

Ronald Reagan's first term and his campaign gave one answer. It is a vision that comforts the well-to-do and afflicts the afflicted. But there is a moral grandeur to the idea of America that soars above the flag-waving and Bible-thumping that proved so successful in the last campaign. Every President whom history deems to have been great — George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt — was touched with that moral grandeur. They pulled the people out of their narrow personal concerns and elicited from them their best instincts as citizens of a great nation.

The strategies now being urged upon the Democratic Party would rob its next candidate of any hope of greatness and would reduce that candidate to the role of common pulse-taker of the people.

I believe that some of the millions of Americans who voted for Ronald Reagan do not wish their country to be greedy and uncaring. I believe that the Democratic Party can fashion themes and construct a vision of the American future that includes hope

By Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir

PLEASANTVILLE, N.Y. — Everyone knows that media attacks on public officials are sometimes unfair, dishonest, careless, mean-spirited and self-serving. But a public official who claims he or she was maligned by critics and seeks redress in court must meet a standard of proof more stringent than that faced by a private citizen.

This standard, set by the United States Supreme Court in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, requires an official to show that defamatory statements about his or her conduct in office were false and made with reckless disregard for the truth.

Why does our society recognize a need to accord critics of public officials an extra measure of protection? Given the libel suit by Gen. William C. Westmoreland and the likelihood of similar suits, an understanding of that question is a matter of uncommon immediacy. It is a question that leads straight to the heart of our identity as a democratic nation whose citizens insist on the right to free, open argument on public issues.

Colonial Americans experienced two distinctly different uses of libel law. The first involved private individuals who sued neighbors for defamation to vindicate their personal

was by government to punish critics. This form became a colonial cause célèbre, the subject of outpourings of popular protest.

England's rulers had long charged political enemies with seditious libel and tried them in dreaded Star Chamber proceedings. Seditious libel also was used to suppress critics of appointed British officials in 18th century America. The best-known case is that of the newspaper editor John Peter Zenger, charged with libel for his scathing articles about the imperious Governor William Cosby. There were numerous other cases.

Americans responded to British libel actions by reprinting essays on "liberty of the press" from a British volume, "Cato's Letters," the patriots' political bible. One frequently quoted Cato observation reads: "What are usually called libels undoubtedly keep great men in awe, and are some check upon their behavior. . . . It is certainly of less consequence to mankind, that an innocent man should be now and then aspersed, than that all men should be enslaved."

These defiant struggles bred a peculiarly American style of freedom of expression: uninhibited, with no holds barred — a style appropriate to a proud, self-governing people. In 1782, the Frenchman Crèvecoeur, defining "What Is an American," wrote that as citizens "they will carefully read the newspapers, enter into every

they could be scurrilous, accusatory and intemperate. Their impudence reflected a belief that all power derived from the people, that public officials were public servants. This was the press the Founders knew when they ratified the First Amendment.

Such a press was not to everyone's liking. In 1798, Congress passed the Sedition Act to muzzle boisterous Republican newspapers that were heaping invective on Federalist leaders. Ironically, the weapon used was the long-fought-against doctrine of seditious libel. The first person arrested, a Vermont editor, was jailed and fined for publishing a letter libeling President John Adams. In the Virginia Resolutions, James Madison declared that the Sedition Act was directed "against that right of freely examining public characters and measures, and free communication among the people," which is the "only effectual guardian of every other right." The Act was allowed to lapse and Jefferson pardoned those convicted under it.

There the subject of libel and public officials rested, at least as far as the Supreme Court was concerned, for 163 years. Then came the libel suit of L. B. Sullivan, a Montgomery, Ala., city commissioner. Now with the Westmoreland case, we have the first suit by a high Federal official against critics of his conduct in office. Today, a debate is stirring over whether the

Why Rostand's 'Cyrano' Lives On

By ANTHONY BURGESS

We all know "Cyrano de Bergerac," but almost willfully ignore its author. It's as though we want big-nosed Cyrano to exist in his own right, the composer of his own works and perpetrator of his own mad actions, without benefit of a human creator. But "Cyrano de Bergerac" is just one of the works of Edmond Rostand, whose life was highly creative but comparatively short — he died at the age of 50 in 1918. Before his death he made the heights of French literary acceptance, being elected to the Académie, but there was always the sense that he was not quite literary enough — too much the ingenious stage craftsman, too popular, his romanticism a watery compound mixed for a non-literary public.

Nevertheless, Sarah Bernhardt played in his "L'Aiglon" in 1900, and as we know, the great Coquelin put on the nose in 1898. The big actors wanted Rostand, but big actors are, almost by definition, a kind of charlatan, and theatricality, which we find in excess in Rostand, has been feared by the literary.

Real literary men ought to fall on the stage, but Rostand never failed. A Broadway musical was made of "Le Romanesque" — called "The Fantasticks" — and it seems likely to run forever. "Cyrano de Bergerac," expensive to mount, usually earned back its money. "L'Aiglon," with an actress like Glenda Jackson, would still work, even though nobody gives a hoot about Napoleon's son. Rostand, like Noel Coward, was a man of the theater, and death has always made the austere literary doubt his sincerity, profundity and ultimate esthetic value.

Broadway is, for the second time, seeing my name linked with that of

Anthony Burgess, the novelist, did the translation of "Cyrano de Bergerac" that is currently being performed on Broadway by the Royal Shakespeare Company.



Edmond Rostand—his life was highly creative

Edmond Rostand. In 1971 I made a translation of "Cyrano de Bergerac" for the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis. This version, the following year, became a Broadway musical which had little success, despite the presence of Christopher Plummer in the lead. New Yorkers were staying home to follow the Watergate scandal on television; the cost of the production was too high; the musicalization of a play which already contained enough music in its language was a hopeless notion anyway.

Still, a good portion of my life has been expended on promoting a 19th-century play about a 17th-century Gascon with a large nose, and, having so many other things to do, I have to wonder why. The version that the Royal Shakespeare Company is at present doing on Broadway is not the same as the one the Guthrie did. Three adaptations of the one play ought to be enough for any man's lifetime. Yet, if asked to tackle a fourth, I doubt if I should decline the proffer. This is because I find Cyrano end-

lessly fascinating. The character more than the play. The plot is improbable, the heroine is exasperating, the French rhymed couplets too often approach a tooth-aching shrillness. But Cyrano lives. Rostand found him in the biography written by Cyrano's fellow-soldier Le Bret, which celebrates the Gascon extravagance, courage, wit and stoicism of its subject.

The expansion of Cyrano's nose into a Rabelaisian monstrosity was Rostand's own idea. A contemporary portrait of Cyrano shows a fair-sized conk or hooter or bezer, but nothing approaching the displaced ityphalus of the hero of the play. Clearly, the age of Freud has turned the nose into a kind of gross erection of which its possessor is both proud and ashamed. Proud because it symbolizes virility, ashamed because it is too blatantly sexual a projection for the Platonic wooing which is Cyrano's hopeless forte. He loves his cousin Roxane, but his nose would deny both the discretion of his passion and the delicacy of its expression.

Cyrano has turned himself into a rather complicated character, and all because of his nose. He has become a fighter in the way that any ill-endowed schoolboy becomes a fighter — to crack back at the jeers. Excelling in swordsmanship takes care of the nose; excelling in poetry, music, scholarship turns him into an intellectual giant in whom physical ugliness is an irrelevance. A Shakespeare or Newton or Beethoven had better not be too handsome: that would be unfair to the rest of us. Cyrano is well equipped to get through a life which bows to masculine values. Dealing with women is something else.

What Cyrano never realizes is that his nose, remarkable at first sight, ceases in time to be an obstacle either to admiration or to love. When Coquelin, who first played the role in Paris, appeared in the final scene, it was always with his own nose, not the papier-mâché one. Few in the audience noticed. Love is a matter of souls, not bodies. Roxane makes her avowal of love too late, true, but with encouragement she might have made it earlier. There is an element of tragedy in "Cyrano de Bergerac" — failure through lack of self-knowledge. But Rostand called it a heroic comedy.

It is a comedy in the sense that it is meant to make you laugh. The laughter is mostly spiritual: Cyrano is witty. In the version best known to American audiences, that of Brian Hooker, there is not much wit, and this is because Hooker converted Rostand's rhyming couplets into very blank verse. You need rhyme for wit.

There is a snap-crackle-pop effect in the twanging of a rhymed epigram or the capping of another man's comment with an exactly rhyming riposte: it is elegant, like good swordsmanship. It has class. If my version works on Broadway, it will be because the actors have learned how to handle rhyme.

The thing on which Cyrano mostly prides himself, however, is not wit or fencing skill but a quality he calls panache. The word primarily means a hat-plume, a gorgeous waving feather that flaunts itself at the world, but its metaphorical meaning is the one that counts. "Panache" is the very last word of the play, and I spent much time wondering whether to retain the original French or to follow Hooker and make Cyrano die boasting of the immortality of his "white plume." But "white plume" carries no symbolic weight, and "panache" has to be accepted in English because there is no real native

Rostand was thought not quite literary enough.

equivalent. It seems to mean dash, bravado, extravagance, the bold baroque gesture, but Rostand, addressing the French Academy on the subject, suggested that there might be a quality of hopelessness there, too — an awareness that no gesture, however bold or magnificent, could prevail against the certainty of death.

In the Broadway musical called, plainly, "Cyrano," I introduced a song which, along with nearly 80 others, got rubbed out after a single performance. It went, in part, like this:

To follow your chivalric calling
When the Alps and the Pyrenees
are falling,

To be sure your mustache is correctly
curled

When they've just announced the
end of the world —
That's panache.

It is, too. I think it is this capacity

for hopeless but elegant defiance which endears Cyrano to all of us, but especially to the young. In the first version of the play, presented in Minneapolis in arctic weather, it was the bearded and bearded young and their bearded girl friends who lined up outside to buy standing room inside. They gave whichever actor was playing Cyrano a standing ovation (true, they were standing already) and, incidentally, got the Guthrie out of the red. The nose was, I think, irrelevant. After all, in the first act it is only the pretext for an outstanding verbal aria and an insult that primes a remarkable double display of fencing and verse-extemporization. Thereafter Cyrano is merely (merely?) a man of resource and defiant stoicism. It was the stoicism that the kids liked.

Stoicism was a quality that the European drama inherited from the Rome of Nero — specifically from the philosopher and playwright Seneca, whose heroes and heroines defy the gods even when the gods have demonstrated that they have the monopoly of life-and-death power. T. S. Eliot said that Seneca's Medea and Hercules and the rest were "cheering themselves up" when they knew their situations were hopeless by indulging in brief and futile flights of verbal panache.

Hamlet learned that stoicism from Seneca, and Cyrano, though parading in a flamboyant comedy, has clearly learned it, too. W. H. Auden called this quality a style made out of despair. It ties up with the existentialism of Sartre and Camus. It is appropriate to our age, and Rostand, anticipating our need, wrote a play which perhaps says more to us than to its original audiences.

If he were living today, haranguing at slipshod pseudo-poetry and degenerate rock music, Cyrano would be able to have a nose-job done. Whether he would then remain Cyrano is hard to say. After all, he is only a character in a drama, using that nose (very expensive: at least \$200 per nostril) to fire defiance at the age of Cardinal Richelieu and to justify an incredible lyrical bellicosity. But he is one of the rare personages of literature who seem to stand outside the prosaemic arch or book-covers which enclose him. Like Falstaff or Don Quixote or Leopold Bloom. Apparently we need him, or he wouldn't be strutting and fretting on Broadway.

Reporters Are Continuing Story for Moviemakers

By VINCENT CANBY

Among other things, the arrival of the Television Age appears to have made more sharp and contradictory the nature of the American public's longstanding love-hate relationship with journalists and journalism. If various polls are to be believed, many Americans today are convinced that newspaper and television reporting, especially of politics, is more biased than it's ever been, usually in favor of liberal positions.

There also are people who seem to feel that too much space is devoted to the reporting of downbeat events — in disasters, natural and man-made, to tales of duplicity in places of public trust, to stories of the private scandals of well-known people. Why, someone must ask at least once each night on a radio phone-in show, don't reporters spend more time on heart-warming, inspiring stories about heroism and other uplifting human achievements? Isn't there enough trouble in the world without harping on all of the unpleasantnesses? The reporter, like the messenger in Greek tragedy, is punished for the tidings he brings.

Though the public is skeptical of journalism, there probably has never been a time before when journalists have themselves become such stars in their own right that when a familiar-faced television reporter appears at the scene of a major event, it's often the journalist and not the event that receives most of the attention of the onlookers. The reporter has gained such celebrity that autographs may be sought by fans even as the building behind them is going up in flames.

Not unrelated to this more recent phenomenon is the fact that movies about reporters have exerted a continuing appeal for filmmakers and often with the public. This has something to do with the conviction that reporters, being where the action is, lead lives somewhat more full of adventure and thus more glamorous than those of your average computer programmer.

Considering the apparently widespread public skepticism about journalism, journalists have been treated with a good deal of sympathy by moviemakers, currently by David Puttnam, the producer whose idea it was to make "The Killing Fields." This is the screen adaptation of Sydney Schanberg's New York Times Magazine story (Jan. 20, 1980) about the war in Cambodia and a very special friendship Mr. Schanberg developed with his Cambodian assistant, Dith Pran.

The magazine story, titled "The Death and Life of Dith Pran," carried the subtitle, "A Story of Cambodia," for a very good reason. In recounting the victory of the Communist Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia, which Mr. Schanberg covered for The New York Times from 1972 to 1975, he also successfully encapsulated in his memoir about his friendship with Mr. Dith what he saw to be the awful fate of a

small country not in control of its own destiny. As Mr. Schanberg was unable to protect the life of Mr. Dith, who had earlier saved his life and those of several other Western correspondents, the American forces could not — perhaps "would not" is the term the film would use — save the life of Cambodia.

"The Killing Fields," directed by Roland Joffé and starring Sam Waterston as Mr. Schanberg and Dr. Haing S. Ngor as Mr. Dith, is not a perfect film. It never successfully dramatizes the intensity of the loyalty, the respect and, finally, the guilt Mr. Schanberg felt about the friendship, but it does call attention — very rare in movies — to an unhappy chapter in the history of recent United States diplomacy in Southeast Asia. In this respect, it is more important than actually moving.

In this respect, too, "The Killing Fields" represents one of the most consistently popular conceits of journalists as seen by moviemakers — that is, the journalist as a tough, committed reporter of the facts, out to get the truth that, in these films, must

'The Killing Fields' respects journalism.

serve the cause of humanity for being true. If truth is Beauty, it's also Good.

It hasn't always been this way. One of the classic American plays of this century, Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur's "Front Page," set in the world of sleazy Chicago journalism of the 1920's and which has been made into a film at least three times, shows newspaper reporters to be even more corrupt than the petty crooks and shabby politicians they are covering. In Billy Wilder's most mordant film, "Ace in the Hole," Kirk Douglas plays a reporter who, to make more dramatic the story of a man trapped in a cave, is ultimately responsible for the man's death.

By far the toughest film about journalism in recent years was Sydney Pollack's "Absence of Malice," in which an ambitious journalist, played by Sally Field, naively allows herself — and her paper — to be used by a coniving district attorney in ways that destroy the lives of several innocent people. "Absence of Malice" is not entirely plausible, at least to newspaper people, but it accurately reflects the suspicions that many members of the public have about the press.

Somewhat more common has been the use of the reporter as a kind of narrative device, the point of view for a story that would otherwise be too sprawling to be easily encompassed in more conventional ways. Thus the innocuous presence of Arthur Kennedy's reporter as the man who watched the rise and fall of the cen-

tral figure in "Lawrence of Arabia" and Martin Sheen, who served more or less the same bland function in "Gandhi."

From the 1930's through the 1950's most reporters were romantic types — Clark Gable sent out to cover the story of a runaway heiress in "It Happened One Night" or as the tough city editor who decides to teach a pretty journalism professor, Doris Day, what the business is all about in "Teacher's Pet." They were both cynical and glamorous as portrayed by James Stewart and Ruth Hussey in "The Philadelphia Story," and incredibly staunch in the person of Joel McCrea in "Foreign Correspondent." The pretty, live-wire television reporter played by Jane Fonda in "The Electric Horseman" is really a 1970's update of the newspaper reporter who set out to expose Gary Cooper's naïve hero in the 1936 "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town."

It is one of the ironies of our particular period that just when the public seems most inclined to express its skepticism about journalism, more good and more truly good serious movies about journalism are being made.

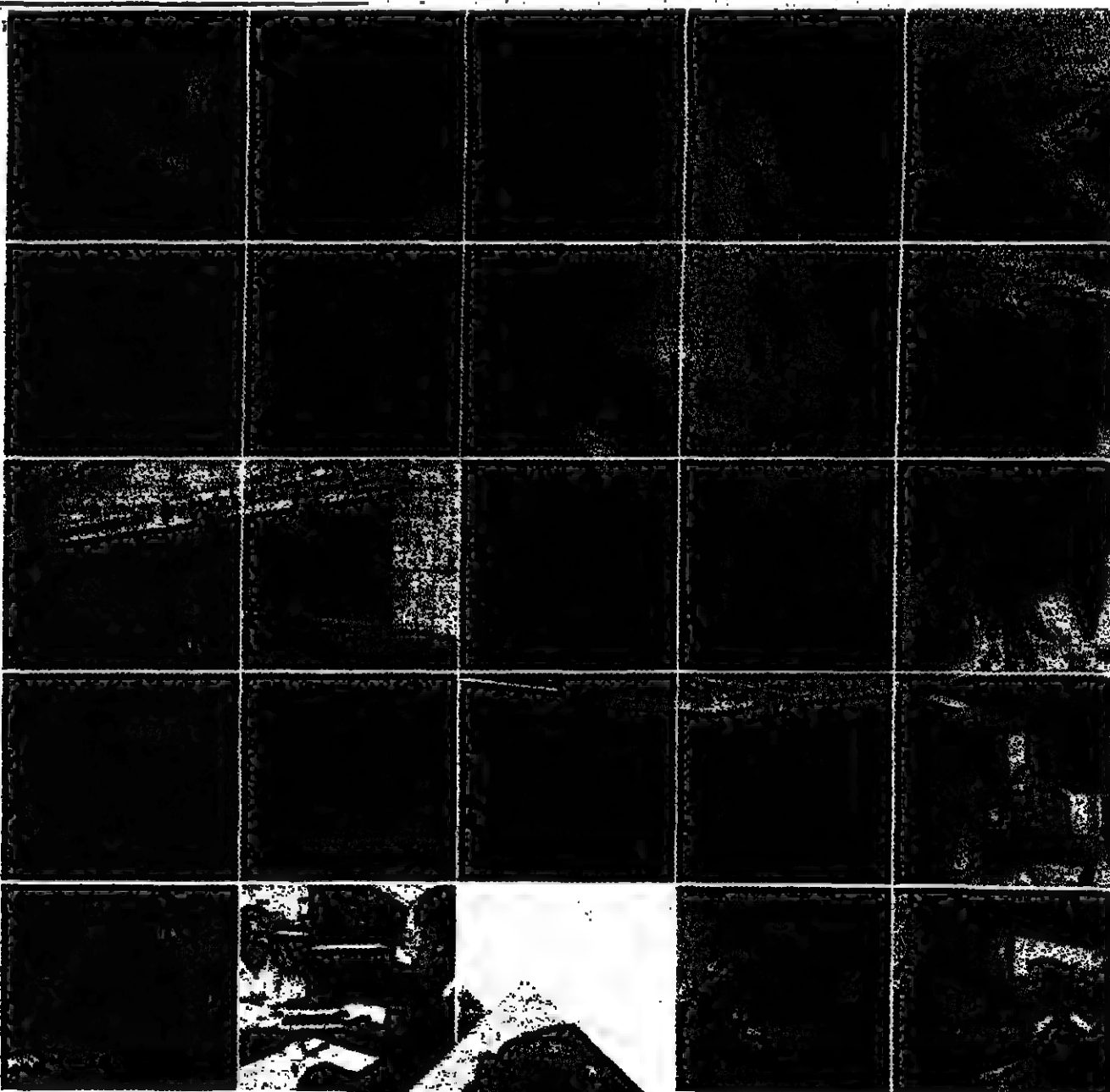
The Sidney Lumet-Paddy Chayefsky "Network" was a seriously manic farce about the inner workings of television. James Bridges's "China Syndrome," in which a plucky TV reporter (Miss Fonda again) and her associates expose the dangers at a faulty nuclear reactor, would have been a good popular melodrama even without the awful coincidence of the Three Mile Island incident. By far the best of all recent films about journalists as crusaders-for-truth was Alan J. Pakula's adaptation of the Carl Bernstein-Bob Woodward best seller about Watergate, "All the President's Men."

It was one of the splendid achievements of "All the President's Men" that the personal stories of Mr. Bernstein (Dustin Hoffman) and Mr. Woodward (Robert Redford) did not become more important than the story they were covering.

Though "The Killing Fields" never succeeds, as Mr. Schanberg does in his original magazine story, in making the friendship of the American reporter and his Cambodian colleagues as moving and important as it should be, it does take an unusually harsh view of United States diplomacy at a crucial time in our relations with Southeast Asia. It also — for the first time in a major commercial American movie — focuses the audience's attention on an instance of genocide that most Americans know little or nothing about.

It respects the practice of journalism, and it respects journalists like Sydney Schanberg who, unlike Clark Kent, must overcome all sorts of bureaucratic and physical difficulties, including boredom, to get the story. The profession is, most of the time, a long, hard, frequently dangerous slog. In places like Cambodia and Nicaragua, there are no phone booths into which the reporter can pop, change into his tight and his cape, and go flying off to make the world safe for democracy.

Arts & Leisure



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FROM THE MOMENT Ariel Sharon strode to the witness stand in a Manhattan courtroom last week to testify in his \$50 million libel suit against *Time* magazine, it was clear that the former defence minister and his lawyer, Milton Gould, would try to convince the jury that Sharon's reputation as a ruthless and unscrupulous military leader was a product of media bias and bore little relation to the real man.

In a long and rambling autobiographical account of his life and times, which took up more than two days of testimony, Sharon presented himself as a committed patriot who had dedicated his life to striving for the peace and security of Israel, despite his yearning to dedicate himself to his farm in the Negev.

In the process, Sharon treated the jury to his opinions on a wide range of subjects, from the need for a two-party system in Israel (Sharon explained that it was his appreciation of this need that led him to single-handedly undertake the formation of the Likud in 1973) to his belief that for generations "Arab terrorism" had successfully thwarted the desires of the many Arabs who wanted only to live in peace with Jews in the Land of Israel.

During the course of his testi-

Sharon on the stand

Post New York Correspondent Walter Ruby describes Ariel Sharon's testimony before a New York court which is hearing his libel suit against *Time* magazine.

mony, Sharon presented a friendly and good-natured image, nodding agreeably when Gould asked him on several occasions to cut down on his philosophical digressions and simply answer the questions.

But Sharon was also moved to erupt angrily against his tormentors in the media, saying that they had presented a "completely untrue" picture of him and his career.

One such eruption occurred when his lawyer read to the jury part of a 1953 *Time* magazine report on the Israeli unit which Sharon had led into the Jordanian village of Kibya

and which, according to the article, had "shot every man, woman and child, and then turned on the cows." At this point, Sharon called out dramatically from the witness stand: "If I could have tried *Time* then for this article, we would not be here (in court) today..."

RECALLING HIS CHILDHOOD on Moshav Kfar Malal in the 1930s, Sharon explained that his family lived in "a two-room house - actually a hut - with all of us living in one room and our cows in the other."

"I can never remember my

mother actually having shoes," he said. "She would take a piece of leather and bind it with rope around her leg."

The family, he said, lived in "terrible poverty, but on the spiritual side it was very rich."

"My parents were people with visions and dreams," he said. "They fought for the truth they believed in. They taught me strong moral values."

Then Sharon intoned solemnly: "I have always believed in the moral values of the Jewish people. I was brought up as a Jew, and have always regarded myself as a strong Jew."

MEDIA REPORTERS at the trial doubt that Sharon's personal testimony has done much to advance his cause with the all-gentle, six-person jury.

However, several reporters who had not covered Sharon previously were impressed: they felt he had been articulate and reasonably effective in countering the image that *Time*'s lawyers have already begun to draw of him as a brutal military leader without a shred of humanity or compassion.

MEANWHILE, Henry Grunwald, *Time* magazine's editor-in-chief said in a speech in New York last week

that recent libel suits against the media have become a danger to both the media and to the nation.

In an address at New York University, Grunwald said that libel suits are "an ornament of a free society," since they are preferable to a resort to arms or violence. But, he said, "we must not allow libel itself to become a weapon against the press. The damage would not be to the press only, but to the country and to those who, for all their misgivings, still rely on us to tell the truth."

Grunwald did not discuss Sharon's libel suit against *Time* except to say: "I am certain *Time* will be vindicated."

But he warned that the threat of such multi-million-dollar libel suits - Gen. William Westmoreland is also currently in a Manhattan court, suing CBS for \$120 million - might intimidate reporters and editors at both large and small news organizations from daring to print controversial material.

While society has to balance the rights of those who are libelled against those of a free press, he added, "the recent attempts to bash the press through libel actions suggest that once again there is real danger of the balance tilting against journalism."



Ariel Sharon... angry eruptions.

(Ben-Zion)

Sentimental journey

By ESTHER HECHT / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Major M.C. St. Clair Berkeley... 'I came back for Jerusalem.' (Fishman)

the camel's legs to keep warm and they'd sing, 'I miss my home, I want to go home.'

After offering a rendition of this sentiment, the 84-year-old Berkeley said, "I've sung this in Egypt and

here, and every time the people who hear me burst out laughing and then join in. They tell me I have a perfect accent in Arabic."

BERKELEY HAS another musical

memory of the Holy City, during his stay in Jerusalem he sang in the choir in Christ Church, just inside Jaffa Gate.

Later, while stationed in the Jordan Valley, he contracted malaria. "Another fellow and I were strapped onto stretchers and put atop camels, and - exposed to the glaring sun - transported to Lod, from where we were moved to the hospital in Cairo for treatment."

Reunited with his unit, Berkeley learned another song composed by an Australian soldier. Called "Rosie of Palestine," it ended with the promise, "Rosie, you'll be my wife."

But Berkeley did not marry a Rosie. Instead, when he was demobilized in Haifa in 1918, he took a job with the British Military Railway as chief clerk to the chief engineer.

During this period the British were building a standard-gauge railroad from Kantara on the Suez Canal to Haifa, connecting with the Jerusalem-Jaffa line. Berkeley was on the first passenger train from Kantara to Jerusalem on its trial run.

"The grade was so steep in places that halfway up we had to ask the passengers to get out and put gravel along the rails so the steam engine could gain momentum," he recalls.

After a year and a half of working on the railway, Berkeley became confidential secretary to Ahmed Bey, an Egyptian prince who was married to a Scotswoman. It was at this time that he met Prince Faisal (later King of Saudi Arabia), his brother Emir Faisal and T.E. Lawrence (better known as

"Lawrence of Arabia") at a dinner party hosted by Prince Ahmed Bey.

But while Berkeley was in the east, his imagination was in the west. "I wanted to go to the U.S., to see the Wild West and the Indians," he says. In 1921, he found himself in Chicago, out of funds and unemployed. Although that was a disastrous year for the American economy with unemployment rampant, he managed to land a job with a mail order house, where he rapidly rose from clerk to department manager.

He was transferred to Baltimore, where he married and eventually joined his father-in-law's food brokerage business. "I'm an American success story," says the retired businessman.

DURING WORLD WAR II, Berkeley volunteered to fight in the army of his adopted country, and at age 44, leaving behind a wife and two young daughters, he was shipped to England as a member of the Allied Military Government Division. After training at a military school near Oxford, he was transferred to the south of England.

As the unit awaited embarkation for Normandy, a former classmate at West Point of General Dwight Eisenhower and General Omar Bradley joined it as attaché. He was Colonel David Marcus.

On June 5, 1944, the unit was shipped to Normandy. "We landed on Utah Beach amidst a convoy of thousands of ships and planes," he says. "We were stranded, we had no food, no shelter, no weapons. We spent the night at St. Marie du Mont and I

berthed with the local baker.

"On June 12 we were told that the town we had been assigned to - Carentan - was clear of the enemy and we could proceed to it the following day. But as we approached the town we saw that there was still fighting in the streets, so we turned our truck around and didn't return until the next day."

Berkeley was second in command of the U.S. Army's Civil Affairs Office in Carentan and was instrumental in re-establishing order and health in the town and the surrounding area. For his efforts, he was awarded the Bronze Star medal.

AFTER THE WAR, Marcus, who by then had been appointed Deputy Commissioner of Germany under General Lucius Clay, asked Berkeley to go to Germany with him, offering a promotion to lieutenant colonel and promising to return him to the U.S. with a promotion to full colonel. Because of family problems, Berkeley had to decline, and returned to civilian life.

In the meantime, Marcus came to Palestine in January 1948 and served as military adviser to David Ben-Gurion. A few months later Marcus took command of the Jerusalem front in the War of Independence. He was accidentally killed during the war by a sentry in his camp.

In 1965, when MGM filmed *Casablanca*

Giant Shadow about the life of Marcus, with Kirk Douglas in the leading role, Berkeley was able to furnish the filmmakers with details about the period during which he had served together with the Jewish officer.

Berkeley's stay in Carentan was etched deeply in his memory and in the hearts of the town's inhabitants. In 1947, the head of the province invited Berkeley and other members of his unit, together with their wives, to a celebration of D-Day in Carentan. "We were entertained by the city council with champagne flowing in the streets," he recounts.

In the years that followed, Berkeley made several trips back to Normandy and became an honorary citizen of Utah Beach and Carentan. In 1982 the leading Normandy newspaper ran a two-page feature about him.

Today Berkeley, who lives in Towson, Maryland, busies himself with his family and two social organizations, St. George's Society and St. Andrew's Society "for which I have to get decked out in full Scottish regalia," he says.

His hobby is travel, and in 1982, 61 years after he left the Middle East, he returned for the first time to Egypt and Israel. Last week he was here again: "This time I came back for Jerusalem. There is something that draws me to this city."

In the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice before Deputy President Justice Miriam Ben-Porat, Justice Aharon Barak and Justice Eliezer Goldberg in the matter between Milan, the Israeli Institute for the Preferred Product and Business and others, applicants and the Broadcasting Authority and others, the respondents.

THE PETITIONERS devised a selection process for outstanding products and businesses in order to award certificates of merit. Candidates were supposedly chosen on the basis of a public opinion poll. The producers of the television programme *Kolbotek* had reason to believe that the petitioners were guilty of irregularities in conducting the selection process, and they therefore prepared a broadcast showing the selection by the petitioners of a non-existent business.

The petitioners alleged that the material to be broadcast had been

Limits to journalism

LAW REPORT / Asher Felix Landau

obtained by tricks and unfair means, and by contraventions of the Penal Law of 1977, the Secret Monitoring Law of 1979 (which regulates "wire-tapping"), and of the Protection of Privacy Law of 1981. They also argued, on the basis of section 13(3) of the Broadcasting Authority Law of 1965, that the decision to televise the programme should have been taken by the plenum of the Broadcasting Authority, and not by sub-

ordinate officials: that section provides that the functions of the plenum shall be, *inter alia*, "to approve the seasonal scheme of broadcasts, without prejudice to its power to decide from time to time upon a particular broadcast in all its aspects." The petitioners therefore applied to the High Court of Justice for an injunction restraining the respondents from broadcasting the programme suggested.

The judgment of the court was given by Justice Miriam Ben-Porat. In rejecting the petitioners' second argument, she held that section 13(3) did not require the plenum to examine every broadcast in advance nor was it desirable that the various bodies of the Authority should be concerned daily with individual broadcasts. The section referred to general directives, although it would be appropriate for the bodies concerned to take the necessary decision in a matter of special importance, or one relating to a central or sensitive subject of public interest. The programme *Kolbotek* had been in general approved by the plenum, and the broadcast in question was not of such "special importance" as to demand its consideration by the plenum, even taking into account the way in which the material was gathered.

THE SUPREME COURT had already held, Justice Ben-Porat continued, that the decisions of the Broadcasting Authority were subject to judicial review on the same grounds as all administrative decisions of the executive, namely, lack of good faith, unjust discrimination, vexatiousness, unreasonableness, and the like. It had, however, also been held that if the enquiry relates to freedom of publication or broadcast, the court will act with great restraint, and will only interfere in extreme circumstances in which there is a real and imminent danger to the public safety, or clear and glaring illegality.

It is the right of the public that the freedom of expression of the media be preserved. The air waves belong to the community, and it is the institutions of the Broadcasting Authority which are entitled, and also obliged, to assume responsibility for the observance of the law in gather-

ing and broadcasting information. The exercise of control and supervision by the court, therefore, when considering interference with freedom of publication, must be cautious and infrequent.

The petitioners accused the respondents of bad faith and utter unreasonableness, but their main complaint was the illegality of their actions, including impersonation, and the use of concealed cameras and microphones. There was no doubt that the authority and its servants are subject to the law like everyone else. They enjoy no immunity or privileges. Freedom of expression and the gathering of information for journalistic purposes doesn't mean a licence to commit crimes or civil wrongs. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbids Congress to make a Law, *inter alia*, "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," and in this regard it has been held that "the First Amendment has never been construed to accord newsmen immunity from torts (civil wrongs) committed during the course of news gathering. The First Amendment is not a licence to trespass, to steal, or to intrude by electronic means into the precincts of another's home or office." However, for the purposes of the review of a journalist's actions by the High Court of Justice, there was not necessarily a connection between the means of gathering information and its use, as there was not necessarily a connection, in ordinary cases, between the means of obtaining evidence and its admissibility.

The first question, therefore, said the Deputy-President, was whether the publication in question was in the public interest. If it was, then subject to the usual tests of good faith and the like, it should be permitted. If it is alleged that some crime or civil wrong has been committed, appropriate action may be taken in the proper court. Moreover, if a court other than the High Court of Justice is asked to restrain a publication, it should act with great reserve. As has been held in England by Lord Denning, "Just as in libel the courts do not grant an interlocutory injunction to restrain publication of the truth or of fair comment, so also with confidential information. If there is a legitimate ground for supposing that it is in the public interest for it to be disclosed, the courts should not restrain it by an interlocutory injunction, but should leave the complainant to his remedy in damages."

A similar approach is taken in the United States where it has been held that "the courts may not review the manner in which a newspaperman obtains his information and may not restrain the publication of news merely because the person responsible for the publication obtained it in

a manner that may perhaps be illegal or immoral."

JUSTICE Ben-Porat also pointed out that the importance of publication in the public interest is recognized in the Protection of Privacy Law, section 18(3) of which provides specifically that in a charge under the Law it shall be a good defence if "the infringement involved a public interest justifying it in the circumstances of the case, provided that, if the infringement was committed by way of publication, the publication was not mendacious." The same principle also applied to "listening-in" in contravention of the Secret Monitoring Law.

On the other hand, Justice Ben-Porat said, the English courts have granted an injunction where, in the circumstances, the publication was unnecessary. Moreover, though the tendency must be not to restrain publication, there may sometimes be cases in which the means of gathering the information are so serious and so blatantly illegal that the interest of observing the law and maintaining public order displaces even the freedom of publication. The present case, however, did not fall into that category.

It was essential that the material published be true, as was also required by section 18(3) of the Protection of Privacy Law. The legitimacy of the publication depended on the double test of public interest and truth. In the present case the public interest was obvious, for the choice of the selected business or product purported to be based on a public opinion poll, and a person could not vote to select a business which did not exist. As to the element of truth, this was a matter for the Broadcasting Authority to decide. If the material was false, it would be held liable for the consequences in the ordinary criminal or civil courts. The High Court of Justice, however, would assume that the material was true, and would not restrain its publication if the public interest so demanded, and there was no element of bad faith, vexatiousness, or the like.

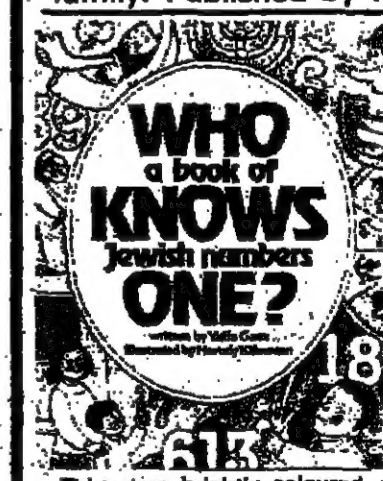
In conclusion, Justice Ben-Porat emphasized the declaration of counsel for the authority that the petitioners would be enabled to explain their stand and contradict the allegations against them during the same broadcast. She also voiced the hope, previously expressed by the court, that the Broadcasting Authority would publish rules for its administration, and the supervision of broadcasts.

For the above reasons, the application was dismissed. Advocate Shraga Biran appeared for the applicants and Advocate Eli Ben-Tovim, Senior Assistant State Attorney, for the respondents.

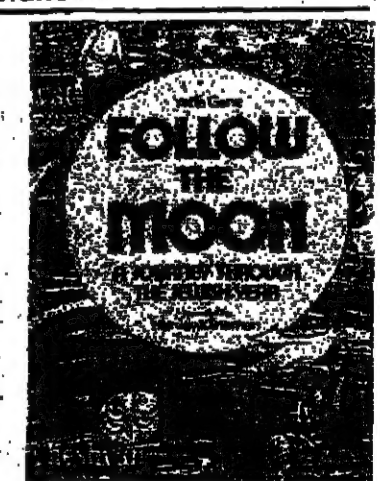
The reasoned judgment was handed down on June 19, 1984.

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The economics of defence

TAKING A leaf from past practice, the cabinet on Sunday decided not to decide, or in any case did not decide to decide, on the additional budget cuts of \$550 million demanded by Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i. As usual, the matter was referred to a committee.

In one respect, however, there was a crucial difference this time. The biggest slice of the planned slash in government spending, and the one that is dictated by the country's balance-of-payments position - namely, that in defence expenditures - was taken out of the hands of the cabinet's "gang of four."

Yitzhak Moda'i, Gad Yaacobi, Moshe Arens and Ezer Weizman will still be empowered to discuss the budget cuts in education, health and social welfare with the ministers concerned. But on the defence budget, the entire cabinet will be convened to meet with a phalanx of General Staff generals. They will no doubt tell the cabinet that, if the country's security is not to be gravely compromised, further defence cuts must be avoided.

Most of the ministers lack the professional knowledge needed to evaluate the security risks that will be described by the generals. They are also unlikely to muster sufficient courage to stand up and say that economic crisis is as much a factor in the country's defence capability as more tanks, missile ships and airplanes.

True, the present government includes an impressive array of ministers with military backgrounds who should be capable of judging the military risks against the economic constraints. The position of these knowledgeable ministers is heavily influenced by the trauma of the Yom Kippur war, and by their conviction that getting Israel on the high road of technological advance is linked to defence industries.

The main weakness of the Treasury's demand for additional budget cuts is that the economic argument for such cuts has never been made very clear. The argument that aggregate demand must be cut is unconvincing, because the economy has not been producing to capacity for a long time. Real wages have been eroded, and aggregate demand had already shrunk significantly before the package deal.

It makes no sense to send the economy into a deep recession by drastic budget cuts for the purpose of slowing or halting inflation.

Budget cuts designed as a back-up dyke to stem a tidal wave of inflationary cost pressures once the package deal expires, may crumble in the hands of the dyke builders if unemployment - the inevitable result of budget cuts - mounts to insupportable levels.

If the budget cuts are needed to pull our foreign payments position into a shape with which we can live for a while - and that seems to be the really valid argument for the cuts - then the firing of 4,000 teachers, a few hundred social workers and several thousand other civil servants will have little effect. Firing them will not improve the payments position, nor will they move or be movable into industry. They will just remain on the dole.

Budget cuts, in short, will do little to slow inflation or to keep it low if it is reduced by such means as the package deal. They may help to narrow the gap in our foreign payments. But that means that the first candidate on the list for additional cuts must be defence.

A fresh look must be taken at our development programmes in this area. There is need to define the risks we can and must assume within our economic constraints. Unless such a reassessment is made, all the calls for forcing the country into a Spartan way of life are likely to remain a cry in the wilderness.

Stalinism on the loose

"THE ZIONISTS helped expose persons of Jewish nationality amongst the (general) population, surrendered them to the Fascists (Nazis), and took part in the extermination of the Jews... In a number of countries, the Zionists served as the 'Fifth Column'... The Gestapo's Zionist agents infiltrated the ranks of the resistance fighters and helped the Fascists finish them off."

What deranged mind, it might be asked, could possibly produce such a string of abominable falsehoods?

The answer is that the theme of the "criminal alliance between the Zionists and the Nazis," illustrated above from just one characteristic pamphlet, is a staple of recent Soviet propaganda. The Zionists, it is alleged, collaborated with the Nazis before and during World War II - and Israel today employs Nazi methods to oppress the innocent Arabs.

Unspeaking brazenness informs this campaign to impugn the legitimacy of Israel, the state that Zionism built, in the eyes of Soviet Jews and friends of Israel all over the world. In the Soviet fictional world, authentic history has been effectively expunged.

Thus it is no longer the Soviet Union itself whose pact with Nazi Germany triggered the last global conflict and, ultimately, the Holocaust, and whose supplies fed the Nazi war machine in the west until it turned east. And the record of Zionist struggle against the Nazis, in both the Middle East and Europe, is as blank as the record of collaboration with the Nazis by such "progressive" Arab leaders as the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, who embraced Hitler in Berlin, Rashid Ali al-Kailani, who staged a pro-Nazi coup in Baghdad, and Gamal Abdel Nasser, whose Free Officers eagerly awaited a link-up with the Nazi armies in Egypt.

It was against this background that the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, headed by the notorious Gen. David Dragunsky, held a press conference in Moscow last month on the theme of the "Zionist-Nazi alliance." The same old charges were trotted out again, whose factual basis was reducible to reports that Zionist and non-Zionist Jews, before and after 1939, sometimes made contact with the Nazis in a desperate effort to save Jewish lives and properties.

The press conference would not have been worthy of notice, however, but for the wide publicity which attended it - and for the fact that it was held in the auditorium of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Until now it could be argued that the Soviet anti-Zionist blood libel is the work of communist party ideologues who oppose the saner and more pragmatic line of Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. But now it must be concluded that Mr. Gromyko agrees with the party functionaries - or else that he is not master of his own fiefdom.

Either way it is clear that a Soviet government which offers its seal of approval to the equation of Zionism with Nazism cannot be considered a fit partner to any Israel-Arab peacemaking.

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Jewish stand-offishness

By YOSEF GOELL

IN THE 1950s the elite that ran Israel, European in origin, looking agast at the flood of destitute, pre-modern immigrants pouring into Israel from the Moslem countries, consoled themselves by saying: "The parents are the hopeless generation of the desert. But give us their children for one generation in our school system, and all differences between us and them will be wiped out."

We now know how naive and unrealistic those expectations were. Ethnic differences between "Ashkenazim" and "Sephardim" were not wiped out in one generation, and ethnic tensions among Jews seem to have increased in recent years. This has obscured the extraordinary, in fact unprecedented, rapid progress actually made towards ethnic integration.

These thoughts came to mind last week at a fascinating conference entitled "Between Two Cultures: How Jews and Arabs in Israel Perceive their Own and Each Other's Cultures," organized by the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation in cooperation with the Israel Oriental Society.

Once again here was disturbing evidence that the Israeli Jewish elites knew little about the minority culture confronting them or its contradictory cross-currents, tending towards integration on the one hand, and towards extreme separation on the other.

There has been a marked rise in interest among Jews in the state of Arab-Jewish relations in Israel since the rise to prominence of Meir Kahane and of the anti-Arab racism associated with him. But the truth of the matter is that the dominant attitude of the Jewish elites towards the Arabs over the past 36 years has been one of extreme obliviousness. The feeling was - and continues to be - that while there obviously is a serious problem out there, if we sit tight and don't pay it any attention, it will fade away and disappear.

ONE ASPECT of this Jewish obliviousness showed in remarks by the conference audience. Several people marvelled at the beautiful Hebrew spoken by many of the Arab participants. Now, the fluency in Hebrew of educated Israeli Arabs (nearly all

men, extremely few women) has been a fact of life for at least a decade and more. But few Jews are aware of this or of other aspects of the actual extent of Arab assimilation into Jewish Israel.

On the other hand, there is the counter-current of conscious Arab separation. It was well expressed by what to my mind was the most interesting lecture in the conference, Nazareth psychologist Marwan Duwayri speaking on "Emotional Attitudes and Their Expression Among Israeli Arabs." Let me bring some of my notes on Duwayri's lengthy presentation:

"Israeli Arabs suppressed their emotions during the traumatic 1950s, and there were also many examples of 'identifying with the aggressor' evident among them. They were waiting for deliverance from the outside until 1967."

"They were shocked to the core (by the Arab defeat in the Six Day War) and started to view themselves as totally helpless, but also as being totally dependent on themselves. There were many signs of a developing self-hate among them until (the Yom Kippur) war of 1973. Israeli Arabs did not express their authentic feelings, or themselves, during this period."

"After that they overcame their fears and began to give vent to their frustrations and feelings of rage and began to rise up against their situation, through political action, demonstrations and the like."

"At first, there was quite a bit of confusion as to the target of that rage. But since then there has been a strengthening of the Palestinian identity of the Arabs in Israel and a readiness for democratic struggle. Today the rage is directed at the authorities and their policies rather than at the Jews. There is a readiness to differentiate between the Jews and the authorities."

There should be no doubt that Duwayri is an "authentic" Arab voice. While he does not speak for all of Israel's Arabs, there is no question that the thrust of his presentation speaks for many, if not most of the younger educated Arabs who are taking over positions of leadership in the Arab sector. It should be pointed out that the young

Arabs who have passed through the Israeli school system, many of them through secondary school and many thousands through university, too, constitute an overwhelming majority of the Israeli Arab population of 600,000.

"Authenticity" is usually a much-admired attribute. But not always. Jews, who have the most experience in the world in making it as a universal minority, have done so for close to 2,000 years by not giving vent to their authentic emotions in a way that could anger dominant majority populations on sensitive issues. This is true even today of the comfortably off American Jewish community.

It depends very much on what is the focus of the authentic rage of the young Israeli Arabs. Duwayri was somewhat ambiguous about that.

ISRAELI Arabs have many legitimate causes for frustration and complaint. It is rarely mentioned, however, how many of their real problems derive from Israeli successes. One example is the terrible overcrowding in Arab schools. Close to half of the children in kindergarten and school are crowded into sub-standard rented premises. But this reflects Israel's extraordinary successes in reducing Arab infant mortality to the level of Jewish infant mortality and of pushing an entire generation and more of young Arabs through school when their parents were nearly illiterate.

But the problems are real, and rage and frustration over the slowness of progress is understandable. So is "democratic struggle."

But when rage and democratic struggle focus on the national identity of Israeli Arabs with the result being a separatist identification as Palestinians as that identity is represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, then there is a problem. (For all the troubles the PLO is going through, there is no other organized expression of Palestinian national identity).

For Zionists deeply involved in their own struggle for a nascent national identity, there is a great temptation to sympathize with another people's similar struggle. However, in a country as tiny as Israel (the size of the state of New

Dry Bones



Jersey), encouraging the development of a competing Palestinian national identity parallel to developing Israeli identity is a sure-fire prescription for unending trouble and friction.

Another speaker at the conference, Awai Habash, spoke of the Israeli Arabs' growing rejection of their identity as a minority and the adoption of a feeling of being part of the large Arab majority in the Middle East, by way of their Palestinian identity.

It is understandable that Israeli Arabs should chafe at and resent their relegation to minority status, ever since the creation of Israel. There are two alternatives to that status however: striving towards full integration into Israel or a strengthening of their Palestinian identity. I would argue that the two cannot go together as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict continues at the level of psychological intensity that has characterized it for the past three-and-a-half decades. To my regret, I do not see that intensity abating in less than a generation.

THE PROBLEM with the integrative alternative to strengthening the Palestinian identity among Israeli Arabs is that it is the Jews who

are making such integration difficult, if not impossible. This situation is especially acute for young educated Arabs whom the Israeli system encourages to get as much education as possible and then freezes out.

Prof. Ephraim Ya'ar, a Hebrew University sociologist, reported at the conference on a study done by him and other Israelis (Jewish and Arab) and by Egyptian researchers. It concerned social distance between these three populations. They found that when ranked according to readiness for superficial social contact, work and business relations, housing members of the other groups in one's home, and close friendship, Israeli Arabs consistently ranked much higher than did Israeli Jews.

Prof. Ya'ar noted that these findings were in keeping with similar studies on the attitudes of dominant majorities and minorities, with the latter always showing more interest in such contacts than the former.

In Israel, however, such majority Jewish stand-offishness may well prove to be the major factor in continuing to drive young Israeli Arabs into the camp of a hostile Palestinian identity.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Discrimination

By SHEVAH WEISS

praise. Female lawyers in particular deserve to be singled out. During my three years in the Knesset, I have had many occasions to meet them because there is a high percentage of women lawyers employed in the civil service, in the office of the attorney-general, the legal departments of government ministries, and recently on the law faculties of the universities.

If I may be permitted a generalization, these women lawyers make an excellent impression, displaying a high degree of professionalism, brilliance and tenacity; and they always seem prepared when their agenda is swarming with pressing matters demanding their attention.

This combination of diligence, responsibility and know-how is also found among many women teachers and principals, as well as among the few senior female officials serving in Israel's public administration.

These attributes are notable among female politicians. Women have served in every Knesset and excel in their parliamentary work. They figure prominently in all aspects of the workings of the House, be it questions, debates on presentation of motions, as well de-

monstrating effective management of the committee they head (the Education Committee is led by Ora Namir and the Interior Committee is headed by Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino), not to mention the vigorous and penetrating parliamentary activity of Shulamit Aloni, Geula Cohen and others.

WOMEN in all these spheres and in the other free professions also have shown distinctive basic human values, being less cynical and less voluble with the media.

This style of innate female dignity is channelled in their public work

into a direction of responsibility and modesty, and excellent combination by any account.

How sad it is that in Israel society there is insufficient receptiveness to dismantling psychological barriers impeding greater feminine involvement in senior jobs. There is a strong case for actively promoting the employment of women in major public positions in the legal network, local authorities, in the Histadrut and the Knesset in every possible way.

The Israeli Government has twenty-five ministers but not one is a woman. Today, there is no cabinet member in its ranks. Even the Jordanian monarchy and the Syrian dictatorship number women in their governments. The situation in Israel in this regard is abysmal, unjustified and damaging.

The writer, a Labour MK, is a professor of political science at Haifa University.

READERS' LETTERS

THE BAR-KOCHBA MODEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Your very interesting article of October 19 on Betar and the Bar-Kochba revolt contains the following statement which warrants comment: "An embarrassed silence has for the most part enveloped the Bar-Kochba uprising in Jewish thought through the centuries... the Bar-Kochba revolt has almost no place in the nation's collective consciousness." Nothing could be further from the truth.

Jews have for over 1800 years

ETHIOPIAN BIRR

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Regarding your "Correction" published on November 13, page 2 concerning Abie Nathan's visit to Ethiopia, please note that everything is paid for in local currency, (birr) and not as stated. Abie Nathan may have mistaken the price tags in the shops because they use something similar to a dollar sign.

I have just returned from six weeks in Addis Ababa and I have not spent a single dollar there, only birr, the local currency. As far as I know it is against the law to accept anything but birr. Anyone can buy anything in Addis Ababa, if they have the money; there are many local people who do.

In a lightning visit like Abie Nathan's it must be difficult, if not outright impossible, to ascertain details and get the right idea of a situation which is complex to say the least.

HANNAH BRAMSON
Jerusalem.

recited, a few times a day, the Fourth Blessing added by the rabbis to the Grace after Meals (*Hatov Vehameitiv*) to commemorate the proper burial given to Betar's fallen heroes despite Roman objections.

Furthermore, Bar-Kochba is enshrined in Jewish law as a model for the legitimate Messiah - the military-political liberator. Maimonides in *Hilchot Melachim* cites the events surrounding Bar-Kochba's actions as reconfirmation of the biblical qualifications for the Messiah (for example, in Isaiah, chapter 61) being strictly military-political, thereby disqualifying those Messianic pretenders who did nothing in the field of political liberation.

(Not surprisingly, Christian censors purged this passage in Maimonides from European editions, while it was retained in the 1509 Constantinople edition.)

Dr. MANFRED R. LEHMANN
Nairobi.

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'HERITAGE' CONTROVERSY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I was appalled and angered by the criticism American Orthodox Jewish leaders directed at Abba Eban over the television series "Heritage: Civilization and the Jews."

Having seen the shows and read the criticisms, I must agree with Mr. Eban. Nothing he said on the show should offend anyone, including religious Jews. His great "failing," if it can be called that, was his having made no statements for which there

is no extant archeological or scientific supporting evidence. As a member of both the American Orthodox and scientific communities, I find it impossible to take offence at this.

Instead of criticism, Mr. Eban deserves praise for the fine job he has done in explaining something about Jewish history to non-Jewish and assimilated Jewish viewers.

ADRIENNE MARKS
Phoenix, Arizona.

EMISSARIES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Regarding the letter about the poor image of aliya offices, we corroborate it, having experienced as parents of an oleb, unjustified arrogance on the part of the local Jewish Agency emissary.

Months ago a letter to this column stated that only those seriously considering aliya had the right to criticize. Those who think so should know that anyone seriously considering aliya always started by considering it lightly.

N. COHEN
Los Angeles, California.

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